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THE
BLACKWELL PRIZE ESSAY FOR 1860.

LONDON: PRINTED BY W. CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET.

THE
BLACKWELL PRIZE ESSAY
For 1860.

ON
THE CAUSES
THAT HAVE RETARDED THE PROGRESS
OF THE
REFORMATION.

By REV. WILLIAM MACKRAY, A.M.

AUTHOR OF THE BLACKWELL PRIZE ESSAY "ON THE EFFECT OF THE REFORMATION ON
CIVIL SOCIETY IN EUROPE," ETC., ETC.

"And God said, Let there be light, and there was light."—GEN. i.

LONDON: E MARLBOROUGH & CO., AVE MARIA LANE.
EDINBURGH: WILLIAM BLACKWOOD & SONS; ANDREW ELLIOTT;
M'LACHLAN & STEWART.
ABERDEEN: DAVIDSON. STIRLING: MILLAR.
DUBLIN: M'GLASHAN & GILL.
1860.

110. d. 190.



TO
THE VERY REVEREND AND LEARNED,
THE PRINCIPAL AND PROFESSORS,
OF
MARISCHAL COLLEGE, ABERDEEN,
AND THE OTHER TRUSTEES OF THE LATE MRS. BLACKWELL,

This Essay,

TO WHICH, IN APRIL LAST, THEY ADJUDICATED

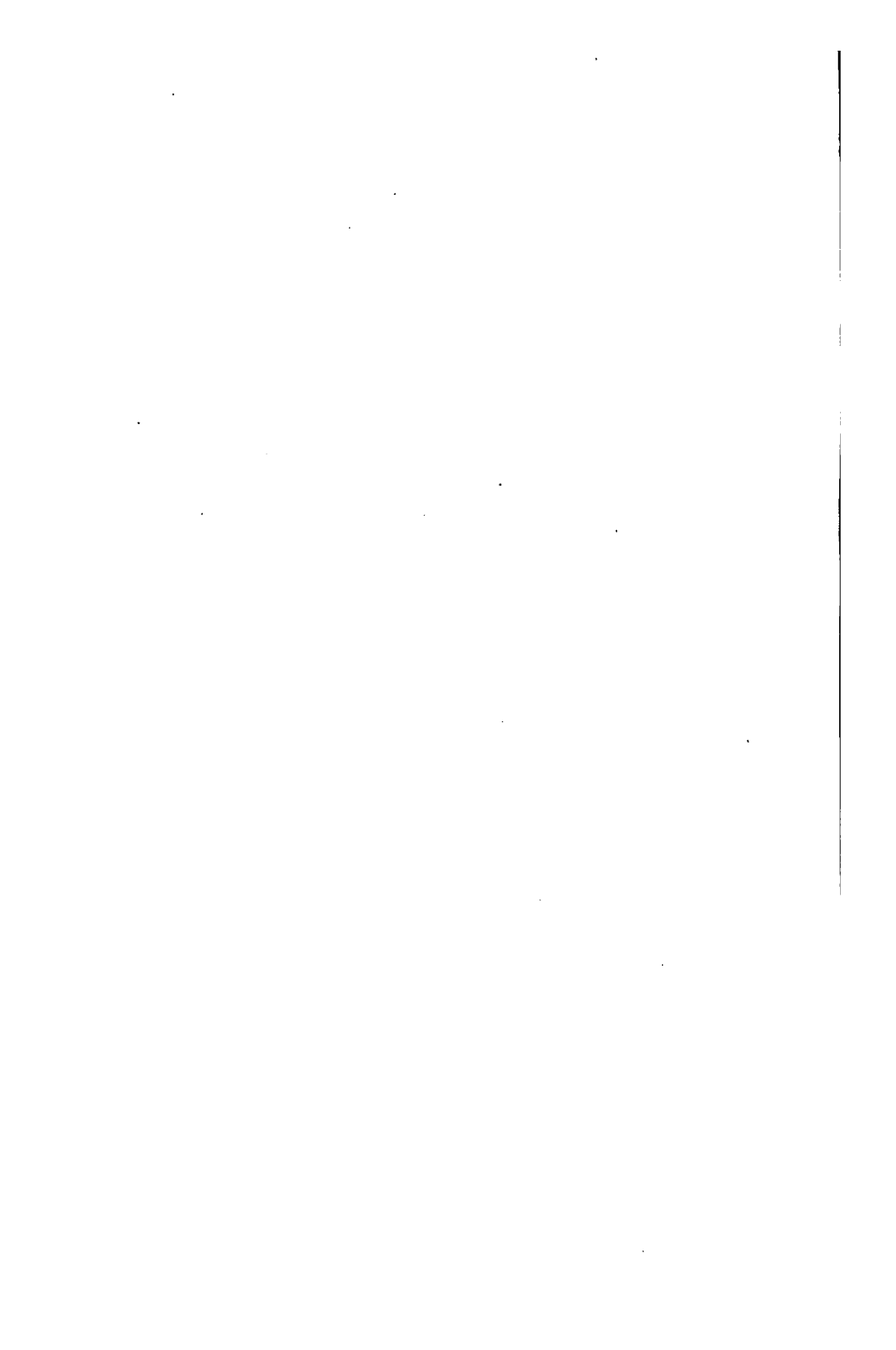
HER
BIENNIAL PRIZE,

IS INSCRIBED WITH GREAT RESPECT,

BY
THE AUTHOR.

EDINBURGH,

13th Aug., 1860.



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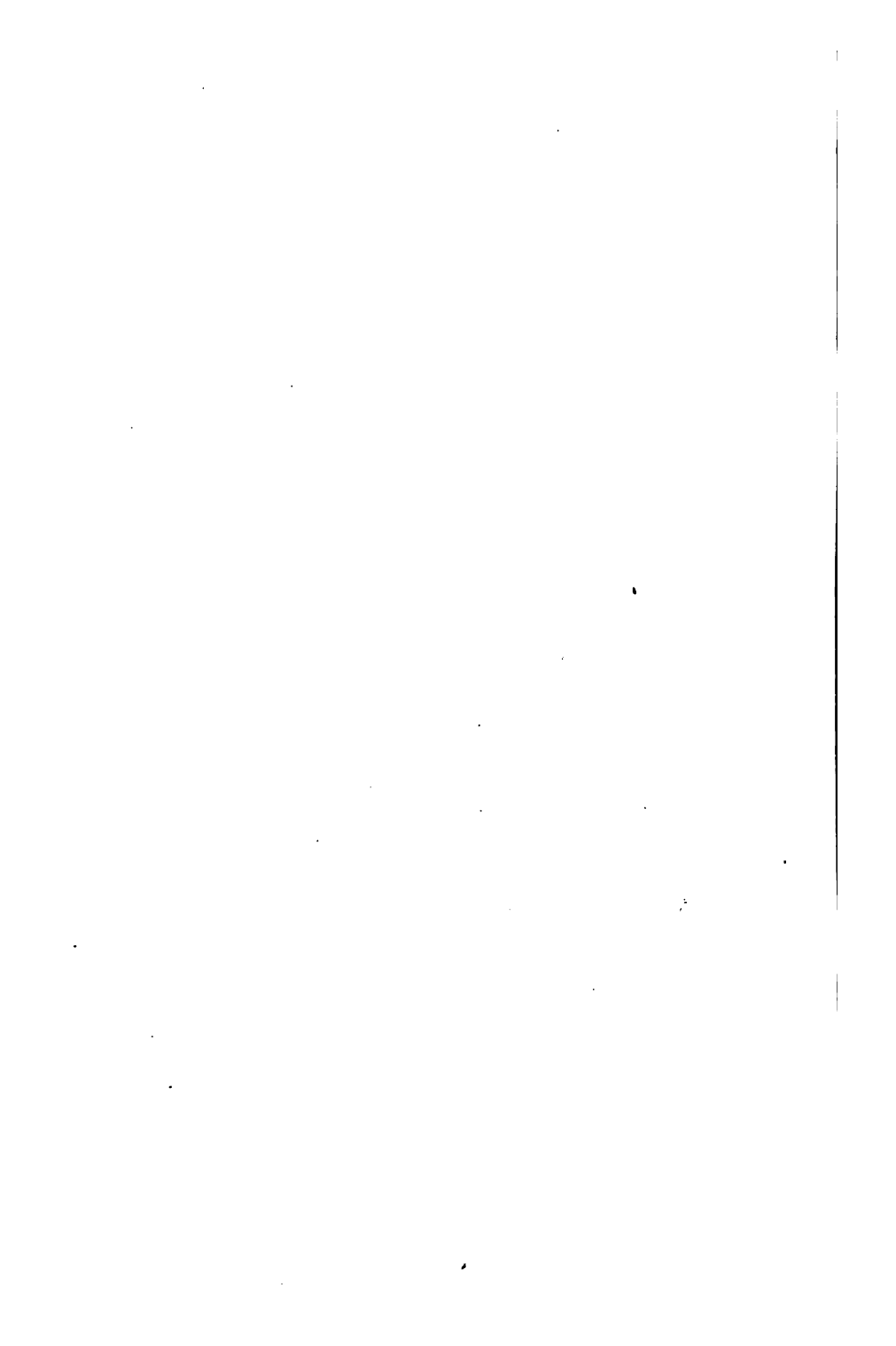
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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

NEXT to the advent of the long-promised and expected Messiah, and the introduction of Christianity, the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century is the most momentous event that ever has transpired in the history of mankind. In the Church of the living God, it was a recurrence to the letter and the spirit of primitive Christianity, and the sweeping away of a monstrous and unhallowed yoke, that had trampled down and debased the human mind and conscience for more than a thousand years. In the Civil State, it was the establishment of the principles of genuine liberty on an immovable foundation, and the setting of long-enthralled nations free. In domestic society, it was the expulsion of ghostly intruders, and the securing to every man the peaceful possession of the sanctuary of his home. In the intellectual and moral world, it was the emancipation of Mind, and the casting open the illimitable fields of Science to the view and the unhampered investigation of mankind.

For centuries had enthralled and saddened Christendom writhed and groaned beneath the yoke which Papal tyranny had wreathed around her,—a yoke more contemptible and yet more terrible than any other that ever fettered the bodies or the souls of men. Patriots had arisen, and toiled and bled in their country's cause. Martyrs, too, had appeared, and had borne their solemn testimony on behalf of a deluded and prostrate world, and against the outrageous wickedness of antichristian rule. But as yet, the patriot

had bled, and the martyr had protested, and suffered, and died, greatly in vain. And, after the lapse of fifteen centuries from the advent of the Divine Author of Christianity, Papal Rome sat as a queen, in all the plenitude of her usurped power—the scourge of prostrate nations, and the oppressor of the Church of God.

But the time of deliverance was drawing nigh : and, just as, not unfrequently, the darkest hour of the night is that which immediately precedes the dawn of the morning, the period of the Church's deepest degradation was the eve of her rescue ; and the season of Rome's most untroubled security was introductory to the most disastrous overthrow she had ever sustained. Little did the successor of Pope Julius imagine, when, amid circumstances of unwonted, and, as far as appeared, universal tranquillity, he ascended the pontifical throne, that it was a portentous calm—that the storm was even then gathering, which, after a few years was to burst with terrific fury over the Papal world,—to shake from its very foundations the Papal throne, and to wrest half the nations of Europe from subjection to its sway. Yet so it was. In the year 1513, Leo succeeded to the pontifical chair. Four years thereafter the loud notes of the Monk of Erfurt were heard denouncing the audacious Tetzels and his impious traffic. And when, in 1520, a Bull was thundered from the Vatican, anathematizing his doctrines, commanding his writings to be publicly burnt, and enjoining himself to retract his errors within the space of sixty days, under pain of excommunication, on the 10th of December, in the same year, Wittemberg beheld the spectacle of this same monk, in the midst of a multitude of spectators, committing to the flames the Bull in which he had been denounced, together with the decretals and canons of the pontifical jurisdiction.*

* The DECRETALS were first published in the ninth century. They consisted of letters, decrees, and canons, or ecclesiastical rules, ascribed to the bishops of Rome from the earliest period to the ninth century, and in which they were made to give such directions, and issue such commands, as they would have done had the abominations of the Papacy then existed. Men were thereby led to believe that the ceremonies, orders, and form of government then established were ancient, and even Apostolic, and not, as they were in reality, inventions of later date. For a long time the book passed current in the world, and the canon law was founded on it. But the author had performed his work in so blundering a manner, that, when

It was the signal of revolt. The Reformation was begun. Multitudes in many lands were ready to hail it. Men of learning and talent were prepared to advocate it. And in a few years, more than half the states of Europe broke off from the Papal Church, and refused at once obedience and tribute to its Head.

Into details regarding the early history of the Reformation it is not our purpose here to enter. Our subject does not require it, and our limits would not admit of it. Nor is it necessary to dwell here on the particular systems of Christian doctrine, or of ecclesiastical polity that were embraced by churches and states which revolted from the Papacy, and embraced the Reformation. Suffice it to say that, while, in regard to the point of ecclesiastical administration, some of the Reformed churches departed unspeakably farther than others from the repudiated hierarchy, their public confessions and formularies abundantly show that the systems of Christian doctrine, embraced by each and all of them, were substantially the same. They comprehend an embodiment of the leading doctrines of Holy Scripture in such a degree of harmony with each other, as bears undeniable testimony to the calm and jealous impartiality with which their respective compilers applied themselves to the investigation of the Sacred Record.

The point of deepest importance in regard to our present subject is that which we have indicated in our opening remark,—that, whereas the fundamental maxim of the Papacy was, and must ever be,—“Believe, and Obey,” the funda-

learning revived, the imposture was quickly detected, and it was seen that the production was an infamous collection of frauds and forgeries, put together by an obscure writer, for the purpose of exalting the pretensions of the Roman See. Letters are attributed to men who died long before the time when it was said they were written; documents are dated in the years of magistrates who were not in office at the time; and fragments of later authors, of different periods, are joined together, and the name of some ancient prefixed. The learned, even among Roman Catholics, have now, with one consent, rejected these things as spurious; but the absurdities they originated or legalized are still cherished: and, notwithstanding the admitted fraud, the champions of Popery have not refrained from adducing them as authorities in their standard works of controversy! Is not this the “deceivableness of unrighteousness?” 2 Thess. ii. 10.—“The Testimony of History against the Church of Rome,” p. 6.

mental principle of Protestantism is—"Think, Examine, Judge,"—"Prove all things, and hold fast that which is good;" that while, on the one hand, implicit faith and abject, uninquiring submission were the humiliating concessions that were demanded and made, untrammelled thought, and unhampered investigation constituted, on the other, the noble and ennobling Right that was claimed and enjoyed. Slavery, in short,—slavery in the very centre of man's being,—slavery in the mind and the conscience,—constitute, and will ever constitute the intrinsic element of Popery. Freedom—freedom in the inmost sanctuary of the soul—constitutes at once the basis and the all-pervading element of Protestantism and the Reformation.

Invested as the cause of the Reformation was with so noble a character,—constituting as it plainly did the cause of God, and of his long-oppressed and bleeding Church,—the cause of the long-buried gospel, and of the dearest but long down-trodden rights of mankind,—one would have expected that it should have been universally and gladly embraced. And, beyond question, its success *was* amazingly great. To have made any inroad *at all* on the boundaries of the Papacy, intrenched as they were and fortified as never empire had been before, was an achievement of no ordinary kind. But to have made *such* an inroad,—to have overthrown the Papal Power throughout one-half of its ancient domain,—to have withdrawn the kingdoms of England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, and Prussia, the Northern Netherlands, more than the half of Switzerland, and several of the German States, from the authority of the Roman See,—and to have gathered around its standard thousands upon thousands of enlightened and devoted disciples in France, Belgium, Southern Germany, Hungary, and Poland, and all this within little more than forty years from the day when Luther burnt the Pontifical Bull before the gates of Wittenberg,—constitutes a series of moral triumphs that finds its parallel only in the history of Primitive Christianity.

But rapid and extensive as the spread of the Reformation was, its triumphs, there can be no doubt, would have been more signal still if no unrighteous influences had opposed its march. If only a fair field with no favour had been allowed

it,—if free and candid discussion had been yielded to its doctrines,—if its cause had been left to the calm and unbiassed decision of those before whom it was pled,—entire Europe would have done it homage; the united nations would, ages ago, have regenerated their worship and their creed, and the death-knell of the Papacy been rung over the length and breadth of Western Christendom. But it did meet with opposition, and that of the most unfair and iniquitous kind. Interests neither few nor powerless were arrayed against it. Unhallowed influences—oft-times from unanticipated quarters—assailed it. And now, the gratulations of its friends cannot but be mingled with manifold regrets;—the recollection of early triumphs is alloyed by the bitterness of subsequent reverses; and perplexity, and, it may be, fear even, are awakened—not, indeed, as to the final issue of the conflict, but in the prospect of perils and trials that are yet to come, and which, in all probability, are near at hand.

We are brought by these Introductory Remarks to our immediate subject:—“THE CAUSES THAT HAVE RETARDED THE PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.”

Undoubtedly, the subject is at once deeply important, and, in our present times, peculiarly interesting and seasonable. If, as we believe, the Reformation be the momentous interest we have represented it to be; if, at once, the secular and religious welfare of mankind be involved in its advancement, it must be a matter of unspeakable moment to ascertain and have distinctly before us the causes by which it has been specially opposed and retarded.

Such causes, beyond question, there are in operation at the present day. Scenes, it may be, like some of those that were beheld in former ages, and which cast everlasting infamy over the Papal annals, are not enacted *now*. Cold-blooded massacres, *auto-da-fés*, inquisitorial executions, dare not now be perpetrated in the face of Europe, as means for the suppression of heretical crime. With one or two exceptions, we believe even Papal States—thanks to the light, or, at least, the spirit of the Reformation shed even over them,—would not endure this. But there have been, and there are causes in operation with the same object in view, which,

though not in outward aspect so formidable, have been found to be even more successful in retarding heretical progress, and promoting the interests of the Roman See. While, therefore, the consideration and discussion of such a topic as the one before us must be interesting to every mind concerned about the best interests of the human race, the investigation, if conducted with intelligence and in a proper spirit, cannot but be productive of results of deep practical importance.

In prosecuting the investigation of our subject, we shall, in the *first* place, advert to causes of a general kind, which had a tendency to retard the progress of the Reformation ; and then, *secondly*, we shall direct attention to causes of a *special* nature—some of them pertaining to the movements of the Papacy, and others, unhappily, attributable to Protestants themselves.

PART I.

RETARDING CAUSES OF A GENERAL KIND.

CHAPTER I.

SUBJECTIVE CAUSE.

VENERATION FOR ANTIQUITY.

CHAPTER I.

THIS is what we may term the SUBJECTIVE cause. The principle involved in it is natural to man, and its power has been felt in all ages and nations of the world. Of all associations, those transmitted to us from antiquity are the most powerful, and the most difficult to be obliterated and overcome. The human mind is prone to hold ancient doctrines and usages in veneration, and to cling to them as if the indubitable stamp of Divinity rested uneffaced and uneffaceable upon them. Hence the trite observation that men make up their principles by inheritance, and defend them as they would their estates, because they are born heirs to them. Finely is the difficulty—rather the almost impossibility of untwining the ties that bind a people to the ESTABLISHED and the OLD—expressed by Schiller in a soliloquy which he puts into the mouth of the revolutionary Wallenstein :—

“What is thy purpose? Hast thou fairly weighed it?
Thou seekest, even from its broad base, to shake
The calm, enthroned Majesty of Power—
By ages of possession consecrate—
Firm rooted in the rugged soil of Custom,
And, with the people's first and fondest faith,
As with a thousand stubborn tendrils twined.
* * *

“Out of the common is man's nature framed,
And Custom is the nurse to whom he cleaves :
Woe then to him whose daring hand profanes
The honoured heir-looms of his ancestors !
There is a consecrating power in time,
And what is grey with years to man is God-like.”

With this potent principle the Reformation had to contend. Luther himself experienced the conflict in his own personal history, and has recorded it in his writings with the frank and manly candour that ever characterized all that he said and all that he did. The dogmas and the rites, amid which he had been nurtured from his early years, were endeared to him as the religion, and the precious transmitted inheritance of his forefathers ; and, in seasons of serious and anxious

thought, to which from his youth he was no stranger, his heart clung to them, and he believed and practised them as the very sum of his happiness and the foundation of all his hopes;* and even when the light of heavenly truth began to shine into his mind, and his eyes began to open on the falsehood of those dogmas, and the worthlessness of those rites, his parting with them was by slow and reluctant degrees, and that parting—the “counting but loss those things that had been gain to him”—was as the very iron entering into and piercing his soul.†

Such feelings, such a bitter and painful conflict, did the promulgated doctrines of the Reformation awaken in many hearts. They triumphed, indeed, in the conversion and salvation of multitudes wherever they were announced; and, when we think of the early and long-cherished prejudices over which they were victorious, we feel that the triumph was truly a great one; but, beyond question, on the part of other multitudes, the principle to which we are adverting did, and we may add, does still prevail. It was not—nor is it at the present day—that the opponents of the Reformation either were or are jealous for what they regarded to be the truth of God, or the divinely-appointed institutions of His church. It was not that they knew or cared about either

* It is very affecting—nay, even distressing—to peruse Luther's own account of his entire devotedness to the austerities of his monastic life. “I have exerted myself to the utmost,” he writes at one time, “to keep the statutes (that is of his order), and have harassed and tormented my body with fasting, watching, praying, &c., more than all those who are now my bitterest foes and persecutors. I imposed on my body more than it could endure.” “When I celebrated my first mass,” he writes at another time, “I entreated of my father to be present, for the honour of God, and the credit of his son, and, although reluctant and sorrowful, he came with twenty attendants on horseback, and presented me with twenty guilders.”—*Life of Luther, &c., by Gustavus Pfizer.*

† Very striking is the similarity between what Luther records of himself in this matter and the language of the Apostle Paul:—“It is true,” said he, “I have been a devout monk, and have kept the rites of my order more strictly than it would become me to say. If ever a man has passed the portals of heaven by monachism, I should also have gained admittance: that testimonial all the holy brotherhood, to whom I have been known, must give me.”—*Ibid.*

“Though I,” says Paul, “might also have confidence in the flesh. If any other man thinketh that he hath whereof he might boast in the flesh, I more, &c. But what things were gain to me, those I counted loss for Christ.”—*Phil. iii.*

the letter or the spirit of the memorable exhortation of the Jewish prophet, rousing his unfaithful people to such a sacred jealousy—"Stand upon the old ways and see which is the good way, and walk therein."* It was, and is, on the contrary, a blind and bigoted veneration for long-established opinions and usages,† an ignorant and dogged attachment to the old as the true Church, and to the ritual of that Church as the only true worship, apostacy from which would be a crime of deepest dye, insuring to the guilty renegade at once the malediction of heaven in this world, and everlasting perdition in the world to come.

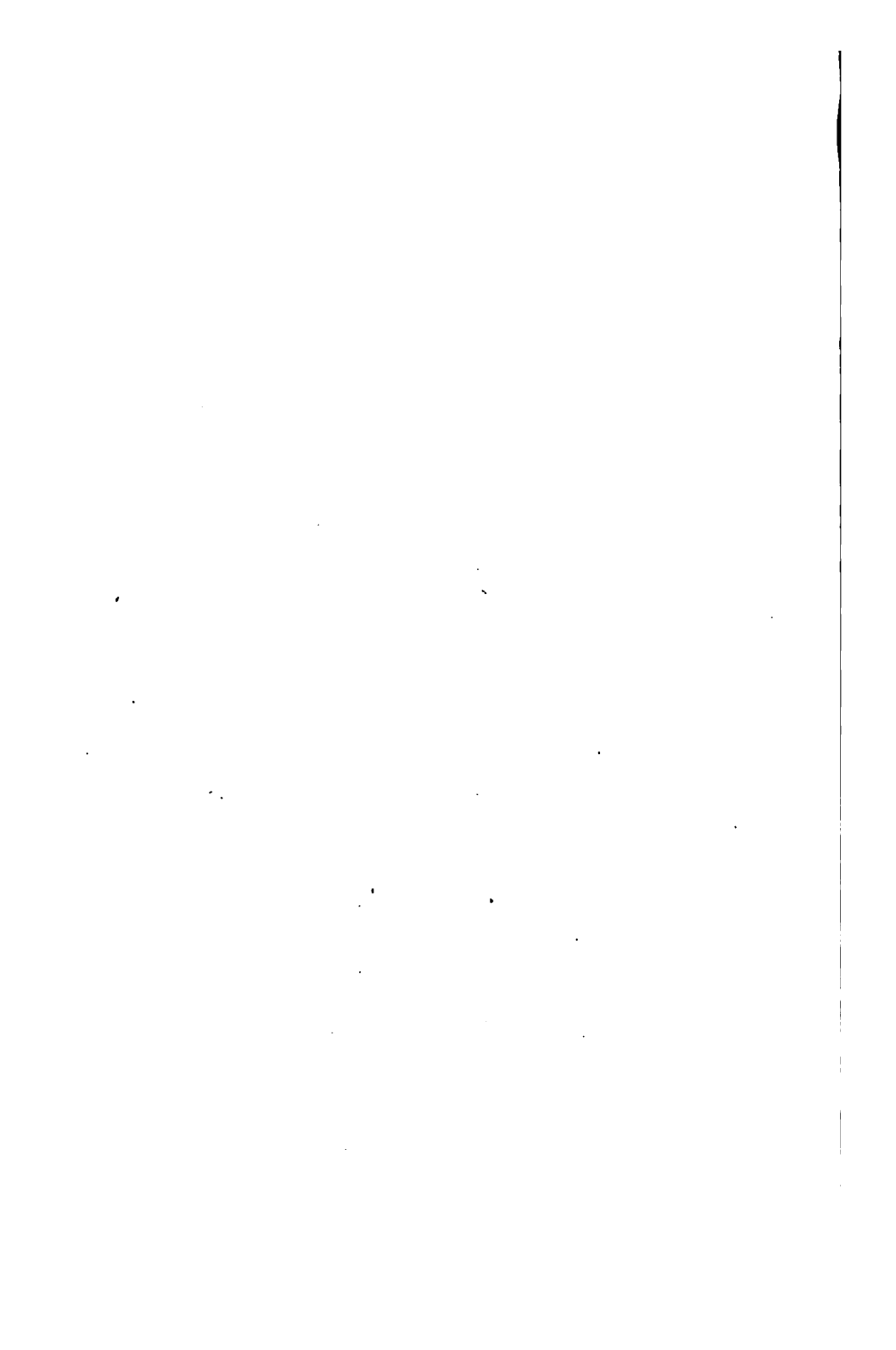
In the history of the Popish Cantons of Switzerland we find a striking illustration of the preceding remarks. In that interesting country political liberty had been contended for and recovered two centuries anterior to the era of the Reformation; and there, therefore, it might have been expected that the Reformed doctrines would meet with a ready reception. But it was otherwise. Seven, out of the twenty-two Cantons, remained inveterately Popish, and even carried war into the territories of their fellow-countrymen on the ground of their forsaken faith.—A strange and sad phenomenon, to be accounted for only on the principle to which we are referring. Among those mountaineers the Papal superstition had worn its mildest aspect. Comparative poverty prevented among them the grievous oppressions so bitterly experienced in other parts of Europe. Among them, too, had lived and died the venerated vindicators and martyrs of Helvetic freedom, and their memory, and the memory of their deeds were associated in the minds of the Switzers with the rites and monuments of their ancient faith. Churches and chapels, where for ages their fathers worshipped, and around which lay their fathers' tombs, marked out the fields of eventful battles, and the scenes of renowned exploits. These scenes were idolized by the enthusiastic Swiss, and the religion whose rites had for ages been celebrated in them, shared in the idolatry. Hence

* "Antiquity," says Bacon, "deserves that men should stand awhile upon it, to view around which is the best way; but, when the discovery is made, they should stand no longer, but proceed with cheerfulness."

† "O Doxa! Doxa!" Luther was wont to exclaim, "Quam es tu Communis Noxa!"

their rejection of the Reformation, and the feelings of animosity which they long cherished, not only against their brethren of the Protestant Cantons, but even against the allies by whom, throughout their unhappy contests, their cause had been espoused.*

* Nothing can be more unjust than the accusation that the people are fickle and desirous of change in their public institutions. They are in general wedded to ancient forms far beyond reason and expediency; and till these exhibit themselves by effects of immediate and great mischief, will neither seek nor permit their alteration. This is exemplified by the Swiss, who, because the Popish superstition, deformed and hostile to improvement as it was, had worn its most beneficent appearance among them, could not consent to its removal. And had the unlimited power of the church been exerted with equal mildness everywhere, it is highly probable that we would yet have been all under the constraint, and involved in the darkness of her dominion. It thus appears that the excess of tyranny may sometimes become a good; as it provokes to that resistance, without which the tyranny would never be broken."—*Mill, in Villers*, p. 215.



CHAPTER II.

OBJECTIVE CAUSE.

**ADAPTATION OF THE POPISH SYSTEM TO THE VIEWS AND
TENDENCIES OF MAN'S FALLEN NATURE.**

CHAPTER II.

THIS may be termed the OBJECTIVE CAUSE. It relates to the intrinsic character of the religious system that for so many ages held nominal Christendom in bondage. Christianity, in its marvellous adaptation to the state of fallen mankind, is "the manifold wisdom of God." The utter corruption of Christianity, which, for centuries, obtained in the nominally Christian Church, is the embodiment of the skill and cunning—not of even the deceitful human heart—but of the "old serpent," the great adversary of God, who was permitted to go forth for a long season to deceive the nations. It is the intermixture of much that is good with much that is evil, that renders the Papal doctrines at once acceptable and full of peril. Unmingled evil would, in most minds, have awakened dislike, and repelled belief. But the retention of the leading doctrines of the Gospel obtained credence for the system; meanwhile the introduction of a multitude of errors, idolatries, and superstitions neutralized their blessed influence, and rendered them subservient both to the secular and spiritual debasement of mankind. God is worshipped; but creatures and images are worshipped too. Christ the Divine Mediator is acknowledged; but other mediators share in his glory. The Scriptures are acknowledged as "the Word of God;" but they are corrupted, and, even then, are interdicted. Man's sinfulness is confessed; but only some sins are *mortal*, others are *venial*. The merits of Jesus are of avail to the guilty soul; but equally so are the merits of saints. Prayer is good; but it must be addressed as well to the Virgin Mary and to the saints, as to "Our Father who is in heaven." The Eucharist and Baptism are Sacramental Ordinances; but so also are penance, orders, confirmation, extreme unction, and matrimony. Water is the element of baptism; but it must be accompanied with salt, chrism, and the sign of the cross. The Lord's Supper is celebrated; but the bread—the *wafer*—is changed into

the body and blood, the soul and divinity of Christ ; the cup is denied to the people, and the ordinance itself is transmuted into "the Unbloody Sacrifice of the Mass." The communion of saints is professed ; but beyond the Papal pale there is no salvation. The Divine Law is acknowledged ; but its code is mutilated—its precepts are abridged—and others are appended under the designation of the "Commandments of the Church." Finally, the doctrines of the Resurrection, the Last Judgment, and a Future State, are held and avowed ; but the figment of purgatory neutralizes them all.

Such is the astonishing intermixture of good and evil—food and poison, in the Papal system—an intermixture, we say again, altogether fitted to procure for it a reception, and give it currency and stability amongst ignorant mankind. It was truly and thoroughly the "The Antichrist,"—but it still bore the name and the semblance of the Gospel of Christ. It was really "The Man of Sin ;" but he "sat in the temple of God," showing himself that "He is God." It was "the Beast, having seven heads and ten horns, and on his heads the names of blasphemy ;" but he "showed his horns like a lamb," and "all the world wondered after him." It was, in short, "the mother of abominations, full of names of blasphemy and filthiness ;" but she was "arrayed in purple and scarlet, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls, and had in her hand a golden cup," and the kings and the people of the earth were intoxicated with the wine of her abominations.

It is impossible seriously to consider the dogmas and the rites of the Papacy—those, we mean, that are peculiarly her own, in contradistinction to the doctrines and institutions of Jesus Christ—without perceiving with what amazing subtlety they are adapted to all the various views, dispositions, and tastes that are natural to man. To the deeply debased, for example, who have hardly any notions of God, she presents images, crucifixes, pictures, relics, as objects of veneration. To worldly and vulgar minds, destitute of any idea of spiritual worship, she holds forth the spectacle of awful solemnities, and mysterious rites. For the more refined and tasteful—devotees, but spiritually ignorant—admirers and

students of the Fine Arts—she has summoned architecture, painting, and sculpture, to be the handmaids of her superstitions. Magnificent temples, pictorial decorations, exquisite music, splendid vestments, pompous processions, and a multitude of kindred objects, arrest the senses, and captivate the heart. If there are retired, contemplative, or morbid spirits,—impatient of the world, and in love with seclusion, she throws open to them the doors

“Of those deep solitudes, and awful cells,
Where heavenly, pensive Contemplation dwells.”

If there are minds of fervid enthusiasm, whose imaginations affect heaven more than earth, she invites them to the exercises of the holy convent, and entrances them by the celestial spectacle of the assumption of the veil, and perpetual consecration to the service of God, and the veneration and worship of his immaculate saints.

In short, as self-righteousness, licentiousness, formality, and procrastination, are the four great leading evils in the human heart, the Papal church makes ample provision for them all. On behalf of the self-righteous, she unfolds and extols the doctrine of saintly merit. To gratify the licentious, she announces the dogmas of confessions, absolutions, indulgences, and many other opiates—if not cures—for the uneasy and wretched soul. For the votaries of forms, she propounds a delightful succession of ceremonies and rites—crossings, kneelings, numbering of beads, lustral sprinklings, paternosters, Ave-Marias, and invocations of the saints. And, to crown all, if this mortal life should be spent in folly and vice, it assures the poor, unhappy sinner of an unction ‘in extremis,’ a *viaticum* that shall conduct his soul through the dark valley, and carry it, if not straight to Paradise, at least to that intermediate state of purgation, from whose torments, provided he can purchase a sufficiency of sacerdotal masses and prayers, it shall at length be delivered.

Such is the religion of the Papacy, and such is its adaptation. It is not matter of wonder that such a system as this—especially when introduced gradually, and under the sanction of venerated names, and in a church held to be infallible—should have experienced an extended reception, and have exerted a powerful and lasting sway.

So it has been. In the ages anterior to the Reformation, the features to which we have been adverting gave the Papal doctrines a potent hold on the minds of men of all characters and classes: in the period of the Reformation, particularly in Southern Europe, they combined with other causes to be afterwards stated, in excluding the Protestant doctrines, and giving preference and permanence to the existing system; and, in later times, they have proved, in numberless cases, not only a retarding barrier in the way of the Reformation, but a powerful cause of many of those melancholy perversions to Rome by which the hearts of the most enlightened and devoted friends of their race have been saddened and surprised.*

* "Such were the sentiments and feelings of the great and good Niebuhr. During his diplomatic residence in Rome, he marked with deep regret this æsthetic adaptation of Romanism, and deplored the numerous cases where the magnificence of art leads its votaries to espouse the religion which, uniting the doctrines of faith with the representations of sense, gives the fullest scope for artistic genius."— *Vide Life and Letters of G. B. Niebuhr*. 1852.

PART II.

RETARDING CAUSES OF A SPECIAL KIND.

PART II.

WE have glanced at the universal and underlying sources of hostility which the Reformation had to encounter, as well in its subsequent career as in its first promulgation. Intrenched on the vantage-ground which her boasted antiquity necessarily secured for her, Romanism had *à priori* advantages; while, to the cause of the Reformation, before it could even obtain an audience, fell the arduous task of scaling those *subjective* advantages within which the Papacy might confidently retire. On the other hand, in the marvellous adaptation of the Popish system to the desires and aspirations—the follies and failings—the hopes and fears—the tastes and tendencies of our fallen humanity—we have seen how manifold and powerful have been, and still are, those objective causes which have—down to the present day—retarded the progress and weakened the cause of the Reformation.

Having these facts steadily before us, we go on to the consideration of causes of a more special kind, deriving their character and importance from peculiar localities, circumstances, and times. These are necessarily of a multifarious description; but they may, as it seems to us, be referred to one or other of *two heads*—as they are conversant with either of the two great Causes in regard to whose interests, since the period of the Reformation, Western Christendom has been divided.

CHAPTER I.
RETARDING CAUSES ON THE PART OF THE
PAPACY.
PAPAL TACTICS.

CHAPTER I.

It is not wonderful that the conduct of Luther should have struck with astonishment the minds of the pontiff, and his conclave, and the whole papal world. The dogmas of the Church had been impugned, and the authority of her head had been disowned before ; but such a monstrous outburst of rebellion had never been witnessed, or even conceived to be possible, as, when one of the sacred, pontifical edicts—wont in former days to spread consternation and command obedience over the Papal world,—was publicly and in triumph, by an insignificant monk, committed to the flames. It was evident—especially after the extensive spread of the new opinions, penetrating, as they had done, in the short space of thirty years, into the remotest corners of Europe, and establishing an empire reaching from Iceland to the Pyrenees—from Finland to the Italian Alps,—it was evident that a crisis more portentous than any it had met with before had come down upon the Papal cause. If not timeously averted, overthrow and ruin seemed inevitable and at hand. Energies, therefore, more potent than had ever been demanded in the preceding history of the Papacy, were needed now ; and more consummate skill than she had ever felt to be requisite before was indispensable now,—to pilot her through the storm, by which she had been so unexpectedly and furiously assailed. These energies and that skill she summoned to her aid, and forthwith embodied in enterprises and deeds of craft and cruelty, which 'ere long spread astonishment and terror throughout the civilized world.

On this part of our subject we might comprise our illustrations under the two topics of POLICY and POWER ; but we think they may be more fully and clearly brought out under the four following heads—namely, CONCESSION, EXTENSION, EDUCATION, and SUPPRESSION.

SECTION I.
PAPAL CONCESSION.
COUNCIL OF TRENT, ETC.

SECTION I.

LONG anterior to the time of Luther, the assembling of a general council, with the view of reforming the Church, was urgently and loudly demanded, not only by multitudes of the down-trodden people, but by princes and monarchs. Many even of the clergy earnestly desired it—indignant at the tyrannical authority exercised by the pontiffs, and alarmed by the increasing alienation of the community around. To this demand the Popes refused to listen. No fewer than three councils had been assembled in the early part of the fifteenth century, at Pisa, Constance, and Basle, and each of them had declared its purpose to effect a reformation, as well in the heads as in the members of the Church. The pontiffs, therefore, detested the very name of a general council, and determined that, as far as they could prevent it, such a council should never be held. For well nigh a century their policy was successful. The appearance of Luther, however, and the rapid progress of his doctrines revived the idea, and, in the year 1522, it was adopted by a diet of the Empire, which prepared a MEMORIAL, designated "THE HUNDRED GRIEVANCES," and demanded that a general council should be forthwith summoned and held. Even yet, and for a period of twenty years, the convocation of a council was, by a succession of popes, refused and delayed. The Emperor, Charles V. desired it, that, by the removal of the grounds of their dissatisfaction with the Church, he might gain the aid of the Protestant princes in the war he was waging against his formidable rival, the king of France. And, most readily, beyond question, would the heads of the Church have made almost any concession, if they could have hoped for the imperial interference in the direct and *forcible extirpation* of the Protestant heresy. But they detested the idea of "*abuses*," shrunk from the very thought of an inquiry into them, and dreaded above all things the influence of a council and its probable claims.

Events compelled what the Pontiffs refused. The conclusion of peace, in 1544, brought the contending monarchs together, and, inasmuch as their respective dominions were equally distracted by religious dissensions, the calling of a general council was their mutual demand. The Pontiff made a virtue of necessity. He anticipated an application which he could not have resisted. He made, in short, the concession of a council,—gaining thereby to the Roman court the credit of a desire to have the evils of the Church removed, and peace and good order restored; meanwhile he entertained the firm resolve, that there should be no changes—no invasions of the Papal supremacy—no intrusions on the infallible Church, in regard either to dogmas or practice,—in short, that either Pontifical management should be outwitted, or the deliberations and actings of the Council should be subservient to the confirmation of the authority, and the aggrandizement of the influence and power of the Roman See.

And so it was. Had we no historical account of this council, we should undoubtedly form a most erroneous notion of its real character. Reading its decisions, and “the Catechism” which bears its name, we should, in the first place, conceive of it as an assembly of the most learned Divines of Catholicism—representing in due proportion each territory of the Popedom,—engaged in solemn deliberation for the reform of abuses, the redress of grievances, and the lucid statement of such doctrines as had either been heretofore vague, or in the lapse of ages had become obscure. We should conceive of it, too, as in the utmost degree untrammelled and honest in its deliberations and decisions; and finally, that its deliberative labours had been carried on continuously to their close—not in such haste as to prevent due consideration, and yet not for so lengthened a period as to permit the probability of many changes among its members by affliction or death.

In every one of these suppositions we should have most egregiously erred. Summoned, as the edict runs, “to correct, illustrate, and fix with perspicuity the doctrine of the Church, to restore its discipline, to reform the lives of its ministers, and to repress heresies,” there were present at its opening—

3 Papal Legates, the Cardinal of Trent, 4 Archbishops, 25 Bishops, and 5 Generals of Monastic Orders. More or less frequently during its sittings, there were present 6 Cardinals, 3 Patriarchs, 32 Archbishops, and 228 Bishops; of whom there were, from Spain 38—from Portugal 3—from Germany 2—from Hungary 6—from Poland 2—and about 180 from the Italian States. The decrees of the council were subscribed by 4 Legates, 2 Cardinals, 3 Patriarchs, 25 Archbishops, 146 Bishops, 7 Abbots, 7 Generals of Orders, and 19 proxies for absentees. At the period of this assembly there existed 800 Roman Sees, so that the signatures did not amount to a fourth part of the Popish prelates. And yet this handful of men presumed to regard themselves entitled to transact the most important religious affairs with the full and infallible authority of a general council, and to enact decrees binding for ever on all Romanists throughout the world, nay, as they hold, on all baptized persons, whether assenting to these decrees, or protesting against them. Moreover, instead of its sittings being continuous, and of no protracted duration, so as to have the benefit of being concluded by the same persons, and entitled to the claim of unity for its decisions, it was repeatedly interrupted—its duration extended over a period of eighteen years,—five Popes reigned and died during its sittings, and very few of those who witnessed its commencement were present at its close. Finally, while the professed object of this council was the laudable one we have already stated, the Pontiffs, under whose reigns it was protracted, had other and very different objects in view. These they determined to attain, and through the zealous and artful efforts of their legates, favoured by the ignorance of many of the Bishops, and the servility of the Italian members, they were eminently successful. The very decrees of the assembly were of their dictation, and they were framed with no view to the Reformation of the miserably corrupt and degenerate church, but to consolidate their own usurped dominion, and to confirm the dogmas upon which it had been based. “The Prelates,” says the historian, “had solemnly bound themselves by a particular confession of faith, subscribed and sworn by each, in a compact of obedience to the Ordinances of Trent, and of

absolute subjection to the Pope. And this was the result of the council, by which it had been unquestionably contemplated to restrict the authority of the Pontiff—an object far from obtained—that authority having in effect received extent and confirmation from the acts of the assembly. Reserving to himself the exclusive right of interpreting the decrees of Trent, the Pope held the power of prescribing the rules of faith and life.”*

Such is the Trentine Assembly; the last Popish Council that has been—the last that ever will be held. Its history is a libel on its professed design. Its decisions, instead of promoting the substantial reformation of the church, only opened the way for future enormities, and awakened sad forebodings amongst the few wise and upright men who still remained within the Roman pale. When, for example, the Deputies from Louvain and Cologne had detected various important errors in the decrees of the council, and demanded and obtained a revision of them before their publication, the Spanish Doctor, Vargas, recorded his mind in these emphatic terms—“I think God has permitted this accident, to cover them with shame and confusion. Surely after this they will open their eyes, as the Psalmist says, ‘Fill their faces with shame, and they shall seek thy name, O Lord!’ God grant that they may understand it! But I dare not hope even for this.” He had ground for this despair. The Papacy was even then beyond the hope of reformation.

Meanwhile the council accomplished its real object. It subserved the purpose which the Pontifical court had originally in view. The Papal doctrines were systematized. The principles of the Papacy obtained a more commanding embodiment than they possessed before. A new pledge of stability and perpetuity seemed to be given to the Papal throne. A standard was unfurled on behalf of the Roman Church, around which it was hoped that thousands of her revolted children might yet be induced to rally; or, if that should not be, a barrier at least was reared in the way of further defection, and the triumphs of heresy were brought to a close. So thought the sagacious heads of the Church, and a recent historian of Italy has expressed his opinion that

* Ranke's ‘Lives of the Popes,’ i. 266.

they judged aright. "With regard to dogmas," are his words, "the solemn assembly did little more than assert or confirm the ancient doctrines acknowledged by the Western Church. But it may be justly affirmed that, if the council did not obtain that the Protestants should return to Catholicism, it prevented at least the Catholics from becoming Protestants." *

* Botta, '*Storia d'Italia*,' b. xi

SECTION II.
PAPAL EXTENSION
MISSIONS, JESUITS, ETC.

SECTION II.

THE Trentine Council, there can be no doubt, effected a powerful and extended diversion on behalf of the Papacy in various parts of Europe. Still, the overthrow she had sustained was fearfully great. Even although the tenets of the arch-heretic should be restrained from spreading, or even though a few of the beguiled children of the Church should in some quarters be reclaimed, the blow which had been given her was a terrible one; the wound, if not deadly, which there was reason to fear, was deep and poignant. But the loss *must* be retrieved. The ignominy of the defeat must be wiped away. The painful, if not deadly wound, must be healed; and the blow that inflicted it must be retaliated. How? is the question now for the pontiffs and their court. It was promptly solved, and that by light from the history of the Papacy itself.

The Reformation, though undoubtedly the greatest, was not the first great crisis which the Church had encountered. Besides earlier ones of inauspicious memory, her annals recorded the fearful perils of the 13th and 14th centuries, when, through a most portentous schism, and under the claims and denunciations of rival popes, the Church's boasted infallibility became a by-word, and her very existence seemed to be at stake. How were these perils met and overcome? Doubtless, in some quarters, by no mild and gracious means, to which we shall afterwards need to refer, but in others, by new missions and new missionary orders. We say *new* missions; for it is the fact, and it cannot be too well known, or too deeply pondered by the Protestant Churches, that Rome was the Missionary Church long before the Reformation. In the 6th century, her missionary zeal penetrated to England; and to Augustine the monk, first Bishop of Canterbury, and, through him, to the occupant of St. Peter's chair at Rome, do the Papalizers of Oxford trace up their orders and observances at this day. In the 8th century the same zeal made Germany its debtor by the mission of Boniface,

honoured downwards from his own age in the memory of the grateful people, as "The Apostle of the Germans."

Thus did Rome meet and overcome her perils of the 13th and 14th centuries. She laid hold of and consecrated to her service the remarkable and talented men who placed themselves before her. Francis, for example, laid his claim for an ecclesiastical order at the feet of the pontiffs; and, when the cardinals hesitated—deeming the existing fraternities numerous enough—Innocent opportunely dreamed that he saw "a palm-tree growing up at his feet," and forthwith sanctioned an order which, ere ten years had elapsed, numbered five thousand members, having authority to preach at large, and without licence from the bishop of the diocese. Benitus, of Florence, too, appeared, and having obtained the pontifical sanction to the order of "The Servants of God,"—gave it organization and intense energy; travelling, with many of his brethren, throughout almost all Europe and a great part of Asia, "composing quarrels," it is said, "reconciling multitudes to the obedience of the holy see, leaving nothing unattempted in his desire for the salvation of men, bringing even the worst men from the revelry of their vices to penitence, and the love of Jesus Christ."*. Dominic, in fine, owed the existence and renown of his name and order to the circumstances and events of those critical times. Five years posterior to the consecration of St. Francis, he devoted himself to the Roman See; and, in opposition to the cardinals, and on the ground of another *dream*, in which Innocent beheld the Lateran Church falling, and Dominic, stepping in to support it with his shoulders, he too was set apart as chief of one of the great missionary communities of the Papal Church. *We* associate these orders, some of them at least, in our minds, only with what is dark, malignant, and atrocious, in religious fanaticism. But we do them wrong. There *were* such spirits among *them*. But Rome can employ the best means as well as the worst. Nay, we will do her the justice to say, that when she has them in her power, she will prefer the best. Vincent Ferrier, the Dominican, was in this point of view, the ornament of the 14th century; and yet he was only one of a number of gifted and energetic

* Roman Breviary, Philip Benitus. Aug. 23rd.

men, of the orders to which we have been referring, who, for powerful, effective, and really useful preaching, were the Wesleys and Whitefields of the age in which they lived.

In the very same way did Rome meet the great crisis of the 16th century. Thus, instructed by her own history, did she equip herself to repair the disasters inflicted upon her by the Reformation. The Papal court itself became, as it were, a body of new men. The easy, effeminate elegancies of the days of Leo gave place to the gravities and solemn earnestness of minds engrossed with one great ruling idea and purpose—the subjugation of the world to the Roman See. Institutions previously existing, having for their object the defence and propagation of the faith, were remodelled, and imbued with new life and vigour; and communities, having the purpose of more extended and formidable operations, were planned and organized. Among these our present subject leads us to the order of the Jesuits, and to that order particularly in its missionary character. It is a remarkable fact that, just at the time when disaster had come over the cause of Rome in the Old World, she was busied sending forth her apostles to make aggressions on the New. Instead of waiting till she could concentrate her forces upon Europe to retrieve her losses there, she set on foot new and daring enterprises in foreign regions, doubting not that, by the triumphs of the faith abroad, she should soon reconquer the territories that had been wrested from her at home. The idea was a noble one and worthy of a higher and holier cause. Luther died in 1546; and, five years before that time, the renowned missionary leader of the Jesuits* had gone to India, and commenced those Eastern missions, which gave the Church an empire in Asia more extensive by far than that which she had lost in Europe. The whole missionary life of this wonderful man extended to only ten years and a half; but, during that time, he gained many thousands of converts in the continent of India, and visited, more than once, the island of Ceylon, the peninsula of Malacca, and the islands of the Indian Archipelago. He was the first Christian missionary that landed on the island of Japan. His labours there were continued during two years and a

* Xavier.

half, till his death at the age of forty-six ; and, fifty years after that period, the mission he had founded comprehended 250 churches, three seminaries, and 400,000 converts. But we cannot dwell on details. Suffice it to say, in the words of our greatest modern historian—now, alas ! with us no more —“The Jesuit missionaries invaded all the countries which the great maritime discoveries of the preceding age had laid open to European enterprise. They were to be found in the depths of the Peruvian mines, at the marts of the African slave-caravans, on the shores of the Spice islands, and in the observatories of China. They made converts in regions where neither avarice nor curiosity had tempted any of their countrymen to enter, and preached and disputed in tongues of which no other native of the West understood a word.”*

It was impossible that the prodigious labours and astonishing successes of Xavier and his fellows in spreading the cause of the Church in India, China, and Japan, should not have acted with invigorating power on Popish zeal and exertion at home. They did so. It was in Asia that Rome regained much of the ground she had lost in Europe. Her enterprises in the East yielded, and are to this day yielding her their fruits on European soil. The tidings of her successful missions in distant regions spread rapidly over Christendom, and operated with hardly less power than the tales of the Crusaders five centuries before. Hear how the astonishing enthusiast himself writes to the heads of his Church from the depths of Indian heathenism :—“I have often thought of running over all the universities of Europe, and principally that of Paris, to cry aloud to those who abound more in learning than in love,—ah, how many souls are lost to heaven through your neglect ! Many, without doubt, would say, Behold me in readiness, O Lord ! How much more happily would those learned men live ! With how much more assurance would they die ! Millions of idolaters might be easily converted, if there were more preachers who would sincerely mind the interests of Jesus Christ, and not their own !” Such burning words, especially when accompanied by such self-denying and laborious deeds, could not plead in vain. We know, indeed, that the conversions

* Macaulay.

effected by the missionaries of Rome were, at least in the far greater number of instances, a mere name; that the religion they imparted to the poor Pagans was a caricature of Christianity—baptism, and some empty rites constituting its sum and substance. Nevertheless, they were Rome's conversions, triumphs of the faith, and of the Church out of which there is no salvation. The clergy of Europe felt rebuked, and rose to their work as if from the dead. Missionaries by scores devoted themselves to Christianize the perishing heathen; and numbers of ardent, conscientious, and in some measure, enlightened men, consecrated themselves, and were commissioned to preach and spread the faith in the countries at home. Such was Regis, of Viviers, for ages the centre of French Protestantism. Over many parishes he boldly denounced, and successfully repressed abounding vice. Often, we are told, would his audience consist of five thousand persons, and such was the native eloquence of his discourses, that not only the common people, but persons of eminence, who were frequently his hearers, were melted to tears the whole time he spake. The Calvinists, too, were attracted by his fame and zeal, and not a few of them gained over to the ancient faith. Kindred in character and spirit to Regis was Vincent of Paul, another Papal missionary in the south of France. And there were many such men whom, in the end of the 16th and the early part of the 17th century, the reaction of her distant missions brought forth to stir up the clergy of Rome to do her work and advocate her cause. Nor is it too much to say that in their hands the Papacy revived, wrested from Protestantism not a few of its spoils, and regained in various parts of Europe her lost predominance.

Under the head of Papal Extension we cannot omit to take notice of an institution which, as much, perhaps, if not more than any other, has exerted a powerful and lasting influence on the spread of Popery in every part of the world; we mean the Propaganda at Rome. It was in the year 1622, when the Papal court was in ecstasies of joy for the overthrow and slaughter of the Protestants in Germany and the Netherlands, and while, assailed by Austria from the Tyrol, and by Spain from Milan, the valleys of the Grisons were the scene of ruthless massacre,—the wild mountains

echoing with the shrieks of death, and fearfully lighted up with the flames of the solitary dwellings,—it was then that the minds of the feeble old Pope Gregory XV., and his bold and brilliant nephew, the future Urban VIII., were inspired with the conviction “that the spread of Catholicism would be the salvation of the world.”* What idea this miserable old man and his dissolute successor attached to “the salvation of the world,” we do not know. Beyond question, of the world’s salvation from guilt, depravity, and misery by the atonement of the incarnate Son of God, they had no correct conception—if, indeed, they had any conception of it at all. But they did conceive and set in operation a plan for subjecting the world to the power of Rome, the success of which, down to the present day, demonstrates at once the skilfulness of its conception, and the astonishing zeal and ardour wherewith it has been carried into execution. It was titled “The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith,” and consisted of eighteen Cardinals, with their officials, who were to assemble at least once a month in presence of the Pope, and whose special business it should be to project and watch over the conduct and progress of missions for the advancement of the faith in every part of the world.

Five years after the establishment of this institution there was added to it, and at length incorporated with it, another designated “The College for the Propagation of the Faith.” Founded and munificently endowed by a Spanish grandee who resided at Rome, and who bequeathed to it his immense patrimony, it was designed for training and furnishing the foreign missionaries of the Church; and to this day are there multitudes of the youth of almost all nations assembled and educated under its auspices for doing the work and spreading the faith of the church in all the countries to which they respectively belong. In its classes are to be found Abyssinians, Hindoos, Chinese, Negroes, natives of Pegu, Siam, and other remote parts of Asia and Africa, and inhabitants of the different regions of South America, of the United States, and of Europe; and while these youths cultivate their own native tongues, together with the Latin and

* Runkle, ii. 470.

Italian—the languages of the class-room—their education comprises all the various branches of learning which constitute the literary and theological training of the priesthood of Rome. The occasion when the polyglot character of the college can be best observed and understood, is furnished by the annual Epiphany examination of the students, when one from each of the countries represented at the college is selected to display his proficiency in the public examination hall, in the presence of a numerous assembly of cardinals, professors, dignitaries, and any visitors, foreign or native, who may choose to go and witness the extraordinary spectacle of forty or fifty different languages being spoken successively by youths of as many different nations, dressed for the occasion in their native costume, and exhibiting every hue and variety of the human countenance.

Gigantic as this establishment originally was, it received an important accession to its strength by the formation, in 1663, of a kindred institution in the metropolis of France. At the present day, more than forty independent associations are centralized in these two great institutions, having under their superintendence upwards of six thousand missionaries, labouring in almost every region of the earth in promoting the interests of Rome; meanwhile the funds demanded for these astonishingly multifarious and extended operations, are poured forth, year by year, from the Papal treasury, with a facility and an amplitude strikingly demonstrative of the zeal and the energy that are embarked in the cause.

Such is a rapid glance at the extension-missions of the Papacy since the times of the Reformation; and there can be no doubt that, not only in their actual success in distant lands, but in the potent influence with which they have reacted throughout the dominions of Popery at home, we contemplate one of the most formidable intrenchments of Romanism, and one mighty, opposing, and retarding cause, with which the Reformation has had, and, for years to come, will still have to contend.

SECTION III.
PAPAL EDUCATION.

SECTION III.

WE frankly confess, we feel difficulty in applying this term (*education*) to the Papacy. Education, in its normal state, is an object altogether noble and good. It is the leading forth of the opening faculties of the mind to truth,—the imbuing them with heaven-descended knowledge,—the forming and preparing the mind for useful, honourable, virtuous exercise, in all the duties of human life, and in all the departments of civil and religious society. Not such is Popish education. Far other than this is the training which the Papacy gives to those young, immortal minds that are, unhappily, subjected to her charge. But just on this very account is the fact which we indicate, by the title prefixed to this section, a momentous safeguard of Popery, and another powerful retarding cause in the way of the Reformation.

It is a remarkable and interesting fact that, soon after the breaking out of the Reformation in Germany, almost all the teachers of youth there were Protestants. The same seems to have been the case in Hungary, and in many other parts of Europe where the Reformed doctrines had effected an early entrance. Nor is this fact difficult to be accounted for. These men were, of course, converts from Romanism—becoming so the more readily, from their possessing a higher degree of knowledge and of mental qualifications than the ordinary classes of society, at the same time that they were not characterized by the high-toned and contemptuous bigotry of the professors and other dignitaries of the Papal colleges and other seminaries throughout Europe. “At this time,” says the historian, “almost all the teachers in Germany were Protestants; the rising generation sat at their feet, and, with the first rudiments of knowledge, imbibed hatred of the Pope.”*

To this matter of fundamental importance the keen eye of the Papacy was soon directed. At the Diet of Augsburg,

* Ranke, ii. 14, 29.

in 1550, there was with the Emperor Ferdinand I.,—his confessor, the good old Bishop Urban, who would not have forsaken the faith of his fathers though a voice from heaven had proclaimed its falsehood, and who was wont, in the shaking times of the Reformation, to ascend the pulpit, and preach earnestly to the people of “the one fold, and the one Shepherd.” Le Jay, the friend of Loyola, and other members of their order, were there. The grave sentiment was mooted by the Jesuit—“that the only means of proping the declining cause of Catholicism in Germany, was to give the rising generation learned and pious Catholic teachers.” The idea was approved, and extensive arrangements were forthwith made. An establishment consisting of thirteen Jesuits was instituted at Vienna; another of eighteen was erected at Ingolstadt, and a third in Cologne. From these three metropolitan settlements, kindred institutions were soon spread over the Austrian dominions, and over Germany, and, in a very few years, over a large part of Europe. By an immense variety of artful means, they succeeded in obtaining possession and control of the higher colleges, and filled the inferior and more ordinary seminaries and schools with their own well-initiated and devoted disciples. The highest regards and anxieties of the Jesuits were concentrated on the Universities; but they never lost sight of the schools. It was even one of the principal maxims of Lainez, that “above all things, the schools should be provided with efficient masters.” He held, and lost no opportunity of impressing on the minds of his associates, “that the character and conduct of the man were mainly determined by the *first* impressions he received.” On this point they exercised intense care and discrimination, and only chose men who, when once they had undertaken this subordinate branch of education, were willing to devote to it their whole lives.

Not satisfied with the maintenance of schools for the ordinary classes, the poor came within the range of their educational regard. Schools were originated for the poor, and modes of instruction, and even catechisms for children followed. Even Sunday-schools, which we have been generally accustomed to regard as of recent origin, were an

anti-reformation device of the Jesuits in the 16th century; and so zealous were they on the subject that Cardinal Andrews, son of the Archduke Ferdinand, caused religious catechisms to be printed and distributed among the school-children and the uneducated classes of the people. Finally, the whole system of Jesuit teaching was *gratuitous*. "Whenever a prince or city founded one of their colleges, no private persons needed to incur further expense for the education of their children. They were expressly forbidden to bestow either remuneration or reward." "In short," says the historian, "the society had, in fact, formed itself into a body of instructors for all ages, that, extending over every Catholic country, acquired an amount of influence altogether incalculable."*

And what was the education they imparted? Rather, what *is* it? for, although this astonishing community, to whom, more than to any other body of men that ever existed, might be applied the description of the ancient satirist:—

"Grammaticus, Rhetor, Geometres, Pictor, Aliptes,
Augur, Schenobates, Medicus, Magus omnia novit
Græculus, . . .
Viscera magnarum dominum, dominique futuri,"—

though in the year 1773 this community fell amid the execrations of outraged Europe, and were formally suppressed by the Papal head,—they were by a bull of Pius VII., in 1814, restored to all their former standing of privilege and power, and have ever since been engaged in as active, insidious, and audacious a course of educational and other modes of warfare against the cause of the Reformation as ever before marked their iniquitous and disastrous career. What has been—what *is* the teaching—the education of Rome?

We might, *à priori*, form no very incorrect judgment in this matter from the sadly recorded and well-known character of the order in question. Under a solemn oath of subjection to the Roman see, and of devotedness in their every movement and action to the interests of the Church, we should expect that, in their system of instruction, freedom of thought would have no place—that no sentiment or opinion would be introduced or tolerated, having any ten-

* Ranke, i. 172.

dency to introduce intellectual speculation, or to encourage and foster mental independence,—that the principles on every subject laid down by the Church should be regarded as fundamental truths, needing no proof, and admitting of no investigation,—that, in short, the whole bearing of their educational system should be, not on the intellectual and moral elevation of its disciples, but on the skilful preparation of them for promoting the interest and doing the service of the Church.

“The whole course of instruction was given entirely in that enthusiastic devout spirit which had characterised the Jesuits from their earliest institution. The first rector in Vienna was a Spaniard, Juan Victoria, a man who distinguished himself at Rome, on his first entrance into the society, by walking along the Corso clad in sackcloth during the festivities of the Carnival, and by constantly scourging himself till the blood streamed from his body. The children who frequented the Jesuit-schools in Vienna were soon remarkable for the firmness with which they rejected the forbidden viands on fast-days, while their parents partook of them without scruple.” “In the year 1560, the youth of the Jesuits’-school at Ingolstadt walked two and two on a pilgrimage to Eichstadt, at the time of their confirmation, in order that they might be strengthened with the dew which dropped from the tomb of St. Walpurgis. The sentiments of which these acts were demonstrations, thus carefully instilled into the schools, were disseminated through the whole population by means of preaching and confession.*

Such Papal education *was*—such it is. Look, in the first place, at the higher seminaries. In the early part of the present century a profound foreign philosopher, who knew them well, recorded his opinion in the following terms:—“The Jesuits were put in possession of the principal direction of public instruction in all Catholic countries. Europe had tasted of the tree of knowledge—light was diffused on all sides—and had made rapid progress. It had become impossible to oppose it directly. The most salutary expedient now was no longer to attack science, but to manage it in such a manner as to prevent its becoming hurtful. To

* Ranko, ii. 35.

well-informed adversaries, therefore, the court of Rome resolved to oppose defenders equally well-informed. To satisfy the universal desire for knowledge, they destined the artful companions of Ignatius. In this province it was that the inconceivable talents of the new instructors of the human species were displayed. Their directing principle was to cultivate to the highest degree those kinds of knowledge from which no immediate danger could result to the system of hierarchical power, and to acquire by this means the character of the most able and learned personages in the Christian world. By means of this command of the opinions of men it became easy for them, either to prevent the growth of those branches of knowledge which might bear fruit dangerous to the Papal power, or to bend, direct, or graft upon them at pleasure. Thus, by inspiring a taste for classical learning, profane history, and mathematics, they contrived dexterously to extinguish the taste for inquiry into matters of religion and state—the spirit of philosophy and investigation. The philosophy taught in their schools was calculated to excite aversion and disgust. With regard to the study of religion it was confined to the books of theology, composed for that purpose by the members of the society—to the casuists and the Jesuitical moralists. All that relates to the moral improvement and the ennobling of human nature; all that relates to the philosophical sciences, the Jesuits endeavoured, and in reality were enabled to retain in oblivion, to render theology as well as philosophy a barbarous system of subtleties, and even ridiculous to men of the world.”*

The nobleness and judiciousness of the preceding citation will justify us, we think, in giving it a place, long as it is, in our Essay. It brings out to view the very heart, as well as the whole projected framework of Papal education. It shows that its educational system was regarded by the Papacy as one of its strongest, if not the chief, of its bulwarks; and even as one of the mightiest engines it could employ for intercepting the progress and overthrowing the cause of the Reformation.

* Villers on ‘The Spirit of the Reformation.’

Such, we say again, *was* Papal education, and such it *is* at the present day.

We need not, on this point, look abroad on countries purely Popish, as Austria, Italy, and Spain. We have only to look around us in our own favoured land, where Popish training must be at least attempted to be held forth with every possible advantage, and we will there find the principles embodied in the preceding statements at once boldly avowed and carried out by those who, unfortunately, have Papal education in their hands.

We do not stay to quote in proof of this the great Popish establishment in our sister-kingdom, where the professor of ethics named as one of the class-books the "*Secunda Secundæ*" of the seraphic Doctor Aquinas; and the President himself mentioned as another, a work on theology, in which the immoral sophistry of the schools takes the place of the Divine standard of righteousness; an establishment, in regard to whose miserable educational training, the Hon. and Rev. B. Noel felt constrained to express himself in these emphatic and sorrowful words:—"For those poor youths themselves I felt a deeper pity still; *there*, before they know it, to be drilled and practised for their hopeless warfare against the kingdom of Christ; *there* to imbibe endless prejudices, fatal to themselves and others; *there* to be sworn upon the altars of superstition to an interminable hatred of what they call heresy, which is indeed pure and undefiled religion; to have prejudice blackened into malice against those who love God; to have all their worldly interests henceforth identified with priestcraft; to settle down, perhaps after a fearful struggle between interest and conscience, into Epicurean scepticism; perhaps, in some instances, to teach the people to adore what they know to be a bit of bread; to curse them from the altar for what they themselves believe to be right and a duty—the perusal of the Word of God; and lastly, to despise them for trembling at the impotent malediction.*

We take our proofs from sources and facts of a different kind.

In the first place, the following extract from a Roman

* '*Notes on a Short Tour*,' &c. 1836.

Catholic memorial, in the present year, in regard to the London University, we deem worthy of grave consideration. The basis of that Institution has been generally regarded as sufficiently broad for the admission of all students to whatever religious denomination they might happen to belong. It appears not to be broad enough for the disciples of Rome. With marvellous effrontery they demand its extension, and that demand has relation to the very point of which we are now treating:—"That the other regulation, to which your memorialists take even more serious exception, is that which extends, or rather introduces a new element into the philosophical examination, by prescribing mental philosophy, and that to such an extent as may fairly be attained by a course of instruction in a class during the year preceding examination.

"That their grounds of objection to this regulation are that it tends to exclude the Catholic body altogether from the B. A. degree at the London University, because mental philosophy, as studied by Catholics, is not a mere *Inquisitio Veri*, or a history of opinions, but a *Demonstratio Veri*, presupposing the dogmas of faith. That hence the conclusions of Catholics in philosophy are ruled by the articles of the Catholic faith, so as to render any theory inadmissible, which in any way contravenes these articles.

"That, by consequence, Catholic professors, for safety's sake, and as an imperative duty, teach a body of philosophical principles and doctrines, before passing on to the consideration of those theories, whether now in vogue, or otherwise important enough to be discussed, which are inadmissible by Catholics; in other words, that a standard of judgment is given by them first, and then only the great variety of philosophical opinions submitted to their pupils to be tried by such standard."

The principles of Papal education, as we have already described them, are here distinctly brought out to view. In the first place, the dogmas of the Papacy are laid down. Philosophy is not the investigation of truth, but a demonstration, as true, of the dogmas thus laid down. Nothing is admissible, even for discussion, which contravenes the prescribed standard. In short, freedom of thought, even in

philosophy, there is none, and the poor fettered student must, without misgiving or hesitation, adopt implicitly the Church's dogma as his own.

We need not stay to express even a hope, that our Universities will spurn the idea of listening for a moment to such demands as these. But we do most earnestly state our deep conviction, that while, on the one hand, it is painful to think of the Popish youth from their earliest days bound hand and foot, soul and spirit, with such ignominious fetters as these; it is, on the other, the very perfection of Jesuitical policy, thus to seal up the mind from its infancy in darkness, and to rear a barrier against the entrance of light and truth, which, but for a higher and mightier agency than that of man, must remain unpenetrated and unbroken for ever.

The preceding extract would of itself be sufficient to verify the statements we have made as to the pervading principle of all Popish teaching; but we deem it necessary to adduce a few other illustrations of it, with the view of exhibiting the system in its actually working state.

There are in England nineteen of what are termed Training Colleges, or Industrial Schools, under the management of the Church of Rome—to which, during last year, our Protestant Government made grants to the extent of £3921.*

Brook-green is one of these. The following, in reference to it, is an excerpt from a letter of the Hon. Charles Langdale to the Weekly (Popish) Register. Referring to a question with the Poor School (Popish Education) Committee, he says—"I must respectfully submit whether, on reflection, he could really propose a committee, consisting two-thirds of *laymen*, to enter upon an inquiry into the conduct of a president of a college—himself a *Priest* and Religious, appointed by the Cardinal Archbishop of the diocese—with a body of religious professors, carrying on a work of no ordinary difficulty; subjecting a set of young men from all parts of England and Scotland, for the first time in their lives, to anything like college discipline, and endeavouring—I am assured, successfully—during their short residence within its walls, not only to perfect their secular training as

* These are distinct from the grants made by the department of the Secretary of State.

the future masters of our poor schools, but still more, to instil religious principles for their own guidance, as well as for that of the future objects of their charge."

Here is a seminary—supported too by our Protestant State—conducted under Popish superintendence—to even the contemptuous exclusion of all other; an institution presided over by a "Priest and Religious," that is to say a monk, appointed by Cardinal Wiseman, and conducted by a staff of other "Religious." And here is a body of our British youth, the future teachers of another generation, having "religious principles," that is to say, of course, thoroughly Popish principles—instilled into them for "their own guidance, as well as for that of their future charges." Little wonder, surely, if the principles of the Reformation, that is, of the Gospel and unadulterated Christianity, should find no access into minds thus early and assiduously—not merely barred against them—but positively preoccupied by other doctrines of a far different kind! And, beyond question, it cannot but occasion serious reflections to considerate Christian men, that our own Protestant nation should be accessory to the bringing about of so melancholy a result!

Hammersmith is another of these seminaries, to which a parliamentary grant was last year made of £247 11s., and the following is a statement regarding it from the same Popish print:—"A good training in secular knowledge is but one out of many appliances towards the production of a Catholic schoolmaster. Hammersmith was established not merely to impart secular knowledge, but what is far more important, to root out the spirit of pride and abominable presumption so characteristic of Protestant institutions, as well as to infuse that genuine Catholic tone, which shows itself chiefly in a spirit of submission and deference to Church authority in general, and to the Priests of individual schools in particular." This requires no remark as to the spirit and bearing of Romish education.

Before leaving our present topic, we feel constrained to advert to another of these State-supported institutions. It is that of Mount St. Bernard, to which, last year, a Government grant was made, of £773 4s. "In Charnwood Forest, says a visitor, quoted by the inspector, "is the Abbey of

Mount St. Bernard. About 400 yards from the Abbey stands a range of buildings resembling a large-sized farm-yard. The whole of the land belonging to the Abbey is enclosed with a stone wall. At present, there are attached to the schools, or colony, smiths', wheelwrights', joiners', tailors', and shoemakers' shops; the stables, barns, shippens, and stackyards. The inmates are numbered at 300. Twenty of the boys are able to sing ecclesiastical music. One boy is now preparing for his first communion. Another has been twice at holy communion. The monks' lives of piety make a deep impression on the boys' minds. The efforts of the 'Sisters of the Good Shepherd,' are supernatural, marvellous—not by nature, but by grace; in all these institutions a work is in progress, in the success of which the gravest social interests are involved. 'The work we have in hand,' says the Abbot of this Popish institution, in his report for the present year, 'has had the formal sanction of the General Chapter of the Order, the approval of our own hierarchy, and the special benediction of the Holy Father. The 'Fathers of Charity,' assisted by another Priest, are now giving our boys a 'retreat,' and preparing several of them for confirmation. Our good bishop hopes to administer to them the great sacrament next week. I am anxiously endeavouring to secure the constant services of a resident Priest—one suitable to so important a post."

Such is Papal education even in Britain,—so blighting, so debasing, so utterly the reverse of everything in which education should consist. It is not the imbuing young minds with all useful knowledge, and training them to the honourable discharge of personal, domestic, and public duties; it is absolutely the training them to be disciples of Rome, filling them with hardly anything else than implicit veneration for her priesthood, her dogmas, and her rites, and hatred of Protestantism, its doctrines, institutions, its disciples, and its very name. This is the education of Rome, which for many years, it has been practising in our own Protestant country, and under the wing of our own Protestant Government, and for the extension of which in Britain and Ireland, and throughout Europe, and in America, it is plying every mean, putting in requisition the utmost depth of its policy, and the

intensest energy of its power. Tremendous is the influence which this individual cause has exerted antagonistic to the Reformation, and it will not be well for the interests of Protestantism, if its friends do not soon and earnestly rouse themselves to larger, and wiser, and more strenuous and united effort, than has heretofore characterized them, to counteract and overthrow it.

SECTION IV.
PAPAL SUPPRESSION.
KNOWLEDGE—THE BIBLE—HERESY.

SECTION IV.

WE come now to our final head in regard to the counter-acting influence of the Papacy in opposition to the Reformation. The concession of a council, and its decisions, produced a diversion in favour of Romanism, the effect of which continues to be felt to this day. Its missions, especially in distant regions, recovered much of its lost influence, and tended to renovate its declining strength. Its educational enterprises, of unnumbered modes of development, and in the hands of the most subtle, energetic, and unprincipled order of men that ever figured in the annals of the world, conferred on it a vantage-ground, whence it has conflicted with dismal success against the cause of the Reformation, and the best interests of mankind. And now, finally, the attempted suppression of knowledge, and especially the knowledge of the Divine Word, while it constitutes the crowning sin of the Papacy against God, has been, and is to this day, its mightiest, most fearful, and most disastrous effort, in opposition to the Church of God, and the temporal, spiritual, and eternal welfare of mankind.

The cause of the Reformation is identified with the cause of knowledge, secular and divine. We do not say that the one is merely the effect of the other,—that the Protestant Reformation is merely one of the natural consequences of the revival of letters, and the invention of the printing art. So some Protestant philosophers have inadvertently said, and the adversaries of the Protestant cause have gloried over the concession. But it was not so. The case was utterly and entirely otherwise. The Reformation was the work of deep, solemn, religious principle, and of that *alone*. It is impossible seriously to investigate the conduct, or examine the writings of the early Reformers, without perceiving that with them every other object was subordinate to religion; that literature and politics were regarded by them chiefly in their bearing on the great interests of the Gospel, and that,

especially, the grand, fundamental doctrine of Justification before God by faith in the Divine righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ, to the exclusion of all the figments of human merit,—was that around which they rallied—their “*Articulum stantis aut cadentis Ecclesiæ*,” the glorious, soul-saving truth, for proclaiming which they desired to live, and for defending which they were prepared to die. Doubtless, the Reformers were men of learning. Luther himself made the first formidable assault on the philosophy of the schools, and thereby opened the way for the future triumphs of reason and truth in metaphysical and moral investigations; but it was the religious principle that prompted them to act, as well as guided them in action. They followed not the dim and perishable light of human science, but the Day-star that led them onward to the presence of their Saviour and God.

Nor only so. Not only was the Reformation the work of religious principle; nothing *but* religious principle could have effected the mighty changes embodied in it. The grand elemental achievement of the Reformation was the resurrection, in its glory, of long adulterated, debased, buried Christianity, and the overthrow of that colossal power, which, instead of being its guardian, had proved at once its basest and its deadliest foe. For this achievement what principle could have been competent save one that could deal with, and in some measure realize the worth of the soul, and the transcendent importance of eternity and eternal things? Not, surely, the love of liberty; for the mere lovers of liberty sought it by a momentary burst of enthusiasm, and were heard of no more. Not the love of philosophy; for the so-styled philosophers of those days were too deeply engaged with substances and accidents, to busy themselves about theological systems, or ecclesiastical reforms. Not the love of letters; for the spirit inspired by literature is too feeble and contracted to awaken any high effort for healing the moral maladies of an afflicted world; and the literati of those ages, with Erasmus at their head, preferred the repose of the laurels of the Vatican to the toils and perils of the Protestant camp. No, not any, nor all of these, produced the Reformation. No principle but one that pursues its object onward to *another* state of being, could prepare men

to peril and sacrifice everything in *this*. No principle but one that is as intelligible and potent among the low as among the high, the illiterate as the learned,—was vast, and vital, and energetic enough to vivify the entire mass of human society, and to raise up, from among the dead stones and rubbish of the Papacy, children of knowledge, virtue, godliness, and truth. If, in short, philosophers and critics, instead of indulging flimsy speculations and ill-grounded conjectures respecting the men and the transactions of those eventful times, would study the spirit and genius of the Reformation, as developed in their recorded sentiments and immortal doings, they would perceive and feel that it was religion, and religion alone, that smote the rock, and poured forth the streams of life and health over the moral wilderness of European society.

But, returning from this—we trust neither irrelevant nor unimportant discussion—we remark again that the cause of the Reformation is identified with the cause of KNOWLEDGE. The Reformation demanded knowledge. It opened up the way for it. If, as a talented writer has said, Europe under the Papacy was “a great intellectual prison-house, of which superstition held the key,” the Reformation laid hold of the key, cast open the prison-doors, and invited the poor captives to go forth into the light and the liberty of a bright and blissful day. And many a captive did go forth. Captive *nations* went forth. The light of science broke over, and ennobled, and cheered them. And, more precious than all other gifts, the light of heavenly and saving truth irradiated myriads and myriads of minds, which would else have been retained in darkness, and in the shadow of death.

Inveterate adversary of the Reformation, Rome stands forth in the view of the world, the implacable foe of knowledge. Well does she understand that light—knowledge—is the very element of her antagonist's power, and that, just in proportion as she can maintain the reign of darkness where it still exists, and extinguish the light wheresoever it has penetrated, will she retard the progress and circumscribe the dominion of her opponent, and enlarge and establish her own. It is a terrible enterprise—even in contemplation, a tremendous warfare. The tyrant who carries war into

nations struggling to be free, that he may make the *bodies* of men his slaves, is execrable. But what words can express the execrations that are due to a power that makes war on the mind—the conscience of man, and strives to make him—not in his body, which will perish, but in the inmost and noblest part of his being—the immortal soul, its subject and slave? This is the enterprise of Rome. In one department of it she has laboured with dismal success, and it will only be by the friends of the Reformation throughout the world rousing themselves to far more energetic, united, and prayerful effort than they have hitherto put forth, that her monstrous aggression will be prevented from achieving melancholy triumphs in the other.

We do not need, in illustrating this part of our subject, to go back to the ages preceding the Reformation, and rake up *their* memorials of Rome's hostility to knowledge and the Word of God: these lie buried deep in dark and dishonoured graves, and it is both needless and painful to drag them thence. It is the annals of the Papacy *since* the times of the Reformation with which we have to do; and these on the point before us are sad and dismal enough.

The story of the immortal philosopher of Florence is familiar to the lovers of science: we may advert to it, however, in this place in a sentence or two, the rather that we wish to take notice of a somewhat remarkable fact connected with it, which, though of much significance, we believe not to be generally known.

The writings of Galileo contained a full exposition of the evidence of the earth's motion, and were characterised by great power of reasoning, and the charms of lively eloquence. The Church was roused into action against them at the instance of the Jesuits and Dominicans, who foresaw and dreaded the disrepute they would bring on their own doctrines and their own schools. In February, 1633, he was summoned to Rome, conducted in a penitential dress before the cardinals of the Holy Inquisition, and solemnly commanded to renounce and abjure, as impious and heretical, opinions which his whole life had been consecrated to form and strengthen. The horrible idea has been held and argued that his abjuration was only wrung from him by "the torture

of the cord." Be that as it may, he did recant. At the age of seventy years, with his hand on the Holy Gospels, he condemned his immortal work "on the Ptolemaic and Copernican Systems," disavowed and abjured opinions which he could not cease to hold without ceasing to think, and swore "before God and the Holy Inquisitors" that he would never more, either in word or writing, assert the doctrines he had demonstrated and avowed. The mind of the philosopher was crushed. He never again wrote on the subject of astronomy. Until his death, three years afterwards, he continued, though at large, the prisoner of the Inquisition, and Popish bigotry pursued him even after his decease. His right to burial in consecrated ground was denied, and the pontiff (Urban VIII.) interdicted the erection at Florence of a monument to his fame. His body was interred in an obscure corner of the Florentine church of Santa Croce, and for thirty years not even an inscription marked out the place where it lay. A century elapsed ere the splendid monument could be erected which now covers his remains.

The fact—we believe not generally known—is worthy of being recorded, that the guilt and infamy of her treatment of the great philosopher, the Papacy has at length endeavoured, if it were possible, to wipe away. For two centuries the names "Galileo Galilei, Copernicus, and Foscarini," have been proscribed, and their works distinctly named in the index of prohibited books. They so appear in the list of 1828. It would seem that the shame of this proscription has now become a burden too heavy even for Rome to bear. The last expurgatory index was published by command of Pope Gregory XVI. in 1835, and while, as we may have occasion afterwards to show, it presents some singular additions to the lists of former times, it is remarkable for the omission of the three celebrated names to which we have just referred. The pretence of infallibility has thus, for once at least, been surrendered by Rome. For once she has virtually acknowledged her decisions and anathemas to be a blunder. The pontifical sponge has been applied to the triple blot which, for so long a period, remained on the pages of her damnatory index; and her disciples are now, for the first time, free to read and believe what all the world

has long known to be true philosophy, without disobeying the published laws of the Church.

We have stated it as one important part of the policy of Rome to exclude light, to retain the mind in ignorance, to guard with jealousy and by all means the empire and the reign of darkness. Of this we had some illustrations in her so-called educational institutions. They are positively not intended nor adapted to imbue the mind with really good and useful knowledge, and diffuse over it the light of true science, but rather to keep it in darkness, if only it be trained to an implicit belief of her dogmas, and an abject compliance with her idolatrous rites. There are Popish schools in the enlightened metropolis of Scotland, where there have been found children who, after two years schooling, could not put two letters together, and others who, after being ten years at school, could not read. In purely Romish countries we behold this miserable process going on upon a gigantic scale. Let us look, for example, to Spain. There Popery reigns, and no nation in the world has experienced more sadly its debasing power. Celtiberian Spain was a noble country; scarcely was she less so when under Gothic sway; but specially was she so after the expulsion of the Moslem race and creed, bidding fair to be one of the foremost, if not the very first, in Europe. And, beyond all question, if Spain had been permitted to embrace the doctrines of the Reformation, which began early to spread among her people, she would have been at this day one of the most flourishing countries in the world. Alas for Spain! Popery had seized her in its iron grasp. She would not be free; and, under the yoke of inquisitors, and priests, and monks, she has fallen to the lowest grade among civilized nations. Emphatically does the condition of this miserable land illustrate the working of the Papacy in regard to knowledge. Of her eight universities a judicious French philosopher* says that "there is more real knowledge in a single seminary, such as Gottingen, or Halle, or Jena, than in all of them put together." And still more recently a countryman of our own† has given the following detail:—"Knowledge in Spain forms no title to distinction. The

* Villers.

† Chambers.

students at the academies or universities form a wretched crew, with their black capas or cloaks hanging in tatters, their feet covered with rags, and their lank unwashed countenances expressive of pride, insolence, or misery. The greater part of them have no other means of subsistence than the soup which is furnished them at the gates of the convents, and the alms which they beg or bawl for in the streets. It may well be supposed that literature is at a low ebb in Spain. The truth is, there is no modern literature at all. The books that are read by those who can read are chiefly theological, or upon some subject that cannot possibly lead into investigations on the political and moral condition of the country. The press is under a more severe censorship than in any other part of the world. The art of reading is cautiously administered, and every species of book kept out of the hands of the people, which may seem calculated to enlighten their minds." Unhappy Spain! And yet, we rejoice to think, there is hope for thee!

We might have appealed on this subject to the Pope's own land—fair, glorious Italy, land of sweet and noble song; land of sages, historians, orators, legislators, patriots; land of the brave and the free! how art thou fallen—freedom crushed—light and knowledge extinct!

Every one even slightly acquainted with the state of this fair but most miserable realm knows that it has no literature worthy of the name; that science is unknown; that Popish theology, lives of saints, novels, and such like, are the only productions accessible to those who are able and have the taste to read. "Of thousands," says Gavazzi, (13th Oration,) "who cannot read alphabetical letters in Rome, not one is found ignorant—for lottery purposes—of Arabic numerals; while, for those who can read, the famous Book of Dreams is published, as an appropriate companion in legalized witchcraft, a book sold in wheel-barrows at every fair, and often the only book in the whole village, where a New Testament is unknown. While the works of learning and genius are on the index, this blasphemous book's circulation is unblushingly promoted."

"The priest in Italy," writes an intelligent visitor from Florence (Sep. 1859), "is, almost without exception, a man

of no books. The Missal is his Koran—the only volume he cares, or, often, is able to read. One year's schooling is sufficient to turn a plough-boy into a mere mass-priest. Not one in a hundred clergymen in Italy is fit to address his congregation even in the coarsest *patois*. It is a religion of dumb-show and whispered prayers. Any blunder in the priest's Latin is drowned by the peal of the organ. This country yields no controversialists; they leave Fleuries to write ecclesiastical histories, and Wisemans to publish eulogies on the Popes. The Propaganda is a nest of foreign priests."

We have already alluded incidentally to the Roman Index; but it may be proper to advert to it in this place a little more particularly, inasmuch as its existence is a standing proof—pervading more than three centuries—of the utter incompatibility of science with Popery, and because it is one of the modes in which the hostility of the Papacy to knowledge operates, we believe, very powerfully on the minds of at least the higher classes of its devotees at the present day. We say the *higher classes*, because, generally speaking, they are the only class of Roman Catholics for whom the Index is necessary, and because we believe they pay regard to the rules and mandates of their Church with a conscientiousness that would do honour to a better cause.

It was the profligate and arrogant Caraffa, titled Paul IV., by whom this portion of Papal policy was first suggested and arranged. But to the more adroit and polished Pius IV. belongs the merit of moulding it into the form which it bears in modern times. The Council of Trent, in its fourth session, decreed—"that it shall not be lawful for any one to print or cause to be printed any books whatever on sacred matters without the name of the author, nor to sell them in future, or even to keep them, unless they shall have been first examined and approved of by the Ordinary, under pain of anathema and fine." This was sufficiently stringent in regard to religious books,—but this was not enough; the Papacy must control the *whole* reading of her subjects. Over the entire mind she must have dominion, and, therefore, they must possess or peruse no work whatever without permission of their superiors. Accordingly, in the 18th session of the Council, it was enacted that, "in order to check the evils

arising from the circulation of suspected and pernicious books, certain fathers, specially chosen for this purpose, should carefully consider what ought to be done in this matter, and report to the Council.⁹ Under this authority came forth the Index, or catalogue of prohibited books, embodying ten rules for the guidance of the Church in this momentous affair. From time to time, down to the present day, have successive editions of these Indexes been published, including every new book deemed hostile to the interests of the Roman see, or injurious to the minds of its disciples. The tenth of the rules of this tribunal exhibits a species of literary despotism which, one would think, should utterly disgust and repel an ingenuous mind. It prohibits the printing and publishing of any books without the permission of the ecclesiastical authorities,—directs these functionaries to visit frequently the premises of printers and booksellers, and provides, that those who keep or dispose of any books not allowed by these authorities, shall forfeit the stock of them, and be subject to such other penalties as they may think proper to impose. Not only so, the Inquisitorial supervision extends to a man's books *after he is dead*, and enjoins that his heirs or executors shall not be allowed to use his books themselves, or dispose of them to others, until they shall have sent a catalogue to the authorities, and obtained their permission to use or dispose of them. Should this be neglected, the books are confiscated, and an arbitrary punishment imposed.

Nor let it be supposed that this prohibitory code was a device of Rome merely for the days of Luther, and introduced simply to counteract the movement with which his conduct and writings upheaved Europe. That it *was* an institution of the Papacy for those days of terrible alarm—and one no sooner suggested than acted on, with a rigour which awakens at once our indignation and contempt—the annals of Rome, and of almost every European state and kingdom afford striking and painful demonstrations.* Let it not be imagined, however that the jealousy of the Papal Court in reference to literature and knowledge is less keen and wakeful *now* than in the ages of the Reformation, or that its prohibitory statutes are become a dead

* Vide Ranke, ii. pp. 42, &c.

letter—enforced no more. It is far otherwise. “The Sacred Congregation of the Index” is at this moment a body of high importance in the Roman Church. It has its prefect, with his associated cardinals, its secretaries and consultants, among whom Cardinal Wiseman holds a distinguished place. We have already mentioned a voluminous Index published at Rome, in the year 1835. It was republished, in 1843, at Mechlin, the ecclesiastical metropolis of Belgium, with the designations of all the interdicted books of the eight preceding years. Among them are found “Whately’s Logic,” “McCrie’s (Italian translation) Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy,” and many other of the most valuable and recent works in literature and science, all of which the disciples of Rome are forbidden, under pain of mortal sin, to possess or to read, without a written permission from their ecclesiastical superior.

We are not aware of any more recent publication of the Index than those we have quoted; but it was not to be expected that the remarkable and damaging work recently put forth by the Prussian ambassador should be unnoticed by the Sacred Congregation. Accordingly, it has been the subject of their solemn consideration, and of a decree, which, as it relates to our present subject, we deem it right to record:—“Decree: Thursday, the 21st day of July, 1853. The SACRED CONGREGATION of the Most Eminent and Reverend Lords, Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church—by our MOST HOLY LORD, Pope Pius IX, and the HOLY APOSTOLICAL SEE, set over and delegated to the Index of Books of unsound doctrine, and to the proscription, expurgation, and permission of the same in the Universal Christian Republic—held in the *Apostolic Quirinal Palace*,—hath condemned and doth condemn, hath proscribed and doth proscribe,—or, having been elsewhere condemned and proscribed,—hath commanded and doth command to be placed on the Index of Prohibited Books, the following works:—‘Hippolitus and his Age; or, the Doctrine and Practice of the Church of Rome, under Commodus and Alexander Severus,’ &c. By Christian Charles Josias Bunsen; but in Latin, ‘Hippolytus, Illiusque Ævum; sive, Doctrina et Praxis Ecclesiæ Romanæ, sub Commodo, et Alexandro Severo,’ &c. Auctore Chris-

tiano Carolo Josia Bunsen. Dec. 21, 1853." Finally, on the point of the present activity of the Congregation of the Index, we subjoin a sentence or two from the recent work of Mr. Whiteside—" *Italy in the Nineteenth Century*." "Wishing one morning," says this intelligent and interesting writer, "to compare the population of ancient and modern Rome, I desired to refer to Gibbon's History, and, accordingly asked my banker where I should be most likely to procure the book? He smiled, and said, he feared I must do without Gibbon till I reached England, as, he believed, it had been lately seized by order of the Inquisition, that is, by the officials who watch over books exposed for sale or hire, and punish offences against the Index Expurgatorius. Curiosity induced me to walk straight to the bookseller. I asked him for Gibbon; he replied, the book he had not then, as it had been taken from him lately. Subsequently I heard that the officials had visited this man's shop and library, examined his stock, and removed such books as they disapproved of, though printed in foreign languages. Amongst the books so seized were Gibbon, and, I believe, Robertson and Hume. A more naked tyranny could scarcely be imagined."*

If the suppression of literature and general knowledge has been an important tactic of the Papacy in prosecuting its warfare against the Reformation, we need not wonder if the extinction of the light of Holy Scripture should have been one of its most favourite and tenaciously-pursued enterprises with the same view. It was THE BIBLE, under the blessing of the Almighty Spirit of God, that effected the great religious revolution of the 16th century. It was the diffusion and circulation of the Holy Scriptures in the languages and the countries of Europe, in connection with the revived exhibition of the leading, long-buried doctrines of the Gospel, that accomplished the Reformation. Until then, there was no such thing as the knowledge and reading of the Scriptures in the Roman Church. The Vulgate existed, but not one in ten thousand, of the great mass of the European population, could read the language in which it was written. The translation and diffusion of the Bible, together with

* *Italy in the Nineteenth Century*. By James Whiteside, Esq., M.P. Fifth Edition.

the preached Gospel, did the mighty work. The system that had made Western Christendom miserable for more than a thousand years was broken up. The word of God grew mightily and prevailed. And if it had not been that the truth had "foul play," and that myriads, who had been at first cheated into superstition, were retained in it by compulsion, the Papal throne had ages ago been cast down dishonoured to the ground, and the Papal reign numbered among the infamous tales of other days.

Well did the Papacy understand this,—that, not only its peace, but its very existence depended on the exclusion of light, and especially, and above all, the light of Divine Truth; the preventing the minds of its disciples from coming at all into contact with the Word of the Living God—or, if that might not in all cases be possible to be realized, the presenting it to them through such a medium as would prevent it from shedding a condemning light on the dogmas of the Church. Very dismal, accordingly, has the history of the Papacy been, considered in this point of view, from the early times of the Reformation down to the present day. It is no other than the history of a war of suppression, or extermination rather, against that blessed, Divine Volume—God's best gift to fallen man—which alone points out to him the path of salvation, and guides his steps in the way of everlasting peace.

Our limits would not possibly permit the insertion of all, or, indeed, of almost any of the numerous Bulls, and other Papal documents bearing on this subject, that have been issued from Rome during the last three centuries. Nor, we conceive, is this necessary. The *spirit* of them, at least, is well known to all who are in any measure acquainted with the subject of which we are treating. We think we will best accomplish the object we have in view, namely, to show that the suppression of the Scriptures on the part of the Papacy has been one prominent and powerful mean of retarding the progress of the Reformation, both in Protestant and Popish lands,—by simply adverting to those deeds, and then surveying their practical influence and operation.

The Council of Toulouse had, in the beginning of the 13th century, enacted the following canon:—"We pro-

hibit also the permitting of the laity to have the books of the Old and the New Testament, unless any one should wish, from a feeling of devotion, to have a 'Psalter or Breviary' for Divine service, or the 'Hours of the Blessed Mary.' But we strictly forbid them to have the above-mentioned books in the vulgar tongue."

This was the decree of a provincial council, and it could have effect, therefore, only within the territory over which the council presided. But its spirit was that of the entire Papacy. Accordingly, when the indomitable Professor of Wittenberg had, in 1530, given to his native land a completed version of the whole Bible, and when editions after editions were published, welcomed, read, and studied, by the wondering and rejoicing people,—and when, throughout Europe, copies of the Word of God, in the vernacular language, were published and dispersed abroad, and the pillars of Papal despotism were shaking to their foundations, the Trentine Council took up the note of its Toulousian predecessor, and gave forth a decree, which, of course, binds the Poppedom to its close. It puts a veto on the reading of the Holy Word; denies the right of every man to read and study it; affirms its indiscriminate perusal to have "been the cause of more harm than good;" and assigns to the clergy of the Church the right of judging who may, and who may not, receive that privilege. It is, in truth, to all intents and purposes, a prohibition of the inspired volume; for, first, the Romanist is not allowed to use the Scriptures without the written permission of a bishop—which may be refused; and, second, this permission can only be obtained on the recommendation of his priest or confessor—which, too, may possibly be refused; and, third, both of these may at any time be cancelled. And even when he has obtained the permission, he is warned that he must not dare to wrest the Scriptures to his own sense of them, in opposition to the mind of the Church, that is, of his immediate priest or confessor.

There was no doubt and no mistake as to the bearing of this decree, on the part of the Roman priesthood, or the Papal authorities. It conveyed at once the mind of the Pontiff and his court, that the Bible should be suppressed: and the warfare for that purpose began to be carried on

with a degree of rancour which, one would think, the utmost feeling of human malignity could hardly have inspired. Copies of the Scriptures were everywhere sought after, and committed to the flames; and multitudes suspected of possessing them, and refusing to deliver them up, were subjected to imprisonment and torture and death. In Spain, for example, Julian Fernando, a convert of great zeal and magnanimity, having brought from Germany a quantity of Bibles in his native tongue, was informed against before he had almost begun to distribute them, apprehended, and cast into prison by the Inquisitors, who forthwith seized the books. He was burnt at the stake; and, on the morning of his martyrdom, meeting with a great number of Protestant converts in the hall where their flaming habits were put on, he cried out—the last words he spake, for his mouth was immediately gagged—“Dear brethren, and sisters, let us be of good courage, and triumph over death.”* Similar scenes were transacted in other lands.

But we must come down to transactions of more recent times. Members of the Romish priesthood have of late, for obvious reasons, denied that their Church has prohibited the general reading of the Holy Word; while others, jealous for her dignity and infallibility, have as strenuously affirmed it. We are not concerned here with either the denial or the affirmation: we desiderate facts, and these are patent and intelligible to all. Within the last forty years a variety of Papal documents have been issued on the subject, and these, save where Protestant zeal has succeeded in introducing it, have accomplished the almost entire extinction of God's blessed Word throughout the Papal world. We might refer to the language of Pius VII. (1816) characterizing the circulation of the Scriptures as “a crafty device, by which the very foundations of religion are undermined,” and to the encyclical letter of Leo XII. (1824), in which he writes of the Bible Society as “strolling with effrontery throughout the world, and contrary to the well-known decree of the Council of Trent, labouring to translate the Holy Bible into the vulgar languages of every nation, &c.” We might refer to the “resolution” issued by all the Popish bishops in Ireland

* Geddes's Tracts, i. 470.

on receiving the document just referred to, "enjoining on all their people to surrender to their priests all copies of the Scriptures which they might have received through Bible Societies;" and to "the address," on the same occasion, "of the whole Roman Catholic bishops, and vicars-apostolic, and their coadjutors in Britain," in which they affirm the circulation of the Scriptures, and the reading of them, and the interpretation of them according to every man's judgment, to be "forbidden by the Church;" but we do not dwell on these, nor on a number of other Papal documents of a kindred nature emitted in recent years, the whole spirit and even letter of which give unambiguous demonstration of the antipathy and dread wherewith the Papacy regards the circulation and reading of the Holy Scriptures, and of the measures which, had she the same sovereign and unquestioned power as in days of old, she would not scruple to adopt for their suppression.

We deem it enough to subjoin to these references a portion of the encyclical letter of the present Pontiff, from which it is evident that his views and tendencies are precisely the same with those that have characterized the Romish see in all the past generations of its disastrous reign. "Among all the insidious measures," complains the Holy Father, "of which the malicious enemies of the Church endeavour to avail themselves for seducing the people, one may be specified as more especially prominent, which they find eminently adapted to their wicked designs, namely, the recent improvements in the art of printing. Accordingly, they busy themselves in publishing profane works, lying journals, &c. Hence, too, at the instigation and with the aid of Bible Societies, which have been denounced again and again by the holy see, they have the hardihood to carry on the distribution of the Sacred Scriptures, translated, contrary to the rules of the Church, into the vulgar tongue; and, with a wicked and almost incredible effrontery, they scruple not, under the cloak of religion, to recommend them to the careful perusal of the faithful." And he goes on to exhort the venerable brethren to "vigilance and solicitude in guarding the faithful against the danger."*

* Encyclical Letter of Pius IX. Dated Naples, Dec. 8th, 1849.

And now let one or two well-authenticated facts testify as to "the venerable brethren's vigilance" and success in this matter.

Look we, in the first place, to Rome itself, where, under the very eye of the Holy Father, we might expect the kindly spirit of the Papacy toward its subjects—if such a spirit it ever had—brought fully to view. "The ignorance of the population of Italy, both ecclesiastics and laics, respecting the Holy Scriptures, is complete and total. I heard from one who had resided two years at Rome, that one copy of the Sacred Volume in the language of the people could not be procured, unless in secret, in any bookselling establishment at Rome. The surprise and incredulity with which I heard this statement determined me to test it, and judge for myself respecting what appeared so strange an exaggeration. I soon ascertained the address of every such establishment in the city, and commenced my research. I visited in person every shop, and in every shop was informed that they had no copy of the Holy Scriptures in the language of the people. I asked on every occasion why they did not possess so important a book, and on every occasion they replied, "*non è permesso*,"—it is not permitted—or, "*è proibito*,"—it is prohibited. The result was the fullest confirmation of the statement which was made to me, for I could not obtain a portable copy in the establishment of any bookseller in Rome. I found two copies of Martini's edition in twenty-four volumes, and at the cost of 105 francs, or above £4 sterling; equal relatively to six pounds in this country."*

Look over Italy—"the dread and dislike of the Roman Catholic Church to the Holy Word of God has been often denied, but no one can have travelled in Italy without seeing a hundred proofs of it. At the time of the Revolution of 1849, the Bible Society made great efforts to throw in a supply of several thousand Bibles, which were eagerly received by the people. When the Pope was restored, a commission was set on foot to eradicate this great evil: the commissioners visited every house where there was the least likelihood that a Bible could be found, and searched the house through and through, breaking open chests and drawers in the hope

* "A Pilgrimage to Rome," by the Rev. M. Hobart Seymour, M.A. 1848.

of finding and destroying the WORD OF GOD ; and whenever a Bible was found to have been concealed, the owner of the house was fined, or imprisoned—as I was told—in some cases for one or two years, or even for more. At Florence, likewise, the Bible Society made great efforts, and with striking success ; but there, too, the Government has set its face unflinchingly against that mischievous and hateful book, the Bible, and they are doing all they can to silence the voice of the Most High.”*

Look we to Spain or Portugal ? “Two-thirds of the people do not know the Scriptures even by name. At the doors of the village inns ; at the stone-fountain by the way-side ; at the hearths of the rustics, I have questioned the children about the Scriptures, and in no one instance have they known what I was alluding to, though in all other matters their replies were sensible enough.”†

We need hardly turn to unhappy Ireland, in order to ascertain the treatment which the Bible experiences at the hands of the Papal priesthood there. Among the population subject to their sway it is interdicted ; and, as far as their spiritual superiors can prevail, sentiments of detestation are inspired into their minds regarding it. We allude to our unhappy sister-kingdom chiefly for the purpose of indicating the fearful state, in regard to the Holy Scriptures, of that Popish seminary upon which so enormous a grant from our national revenue is yearly expended. It had been publicly stated, a few years ago, that the Bible was expelled from Maynooth, and even treated with indignity there ; on which Dr. Russel, one of the Professors, made the declaration, “that each student had a copy of the Bible, and that a whole recess of their library was devoted to Bible and Biblical literature.” The statement was replied to by the Rev. P. O'Brien, a reformed Romanist priest, in Dublin, in the following terms,—“I beg now, as an Alumnus, to make one remark in regard to my own experience. I assert, with all the solemnity of an oath, that while I lived in that college, during a period of six years, and was educated for a priest in the Church of Rome, I had no Bible in my possession from

* “Lecture on Italy,” by Charles Buxton, Esq.

† “The Bible in Spain,” by Borrow.

the college, nor am I aware that any of my class-fellows thus possessed a copy of that Sacred Book; nor was it a class-book in our Divinity course, even in a dead language. When, by the blessing of God, I came to read the Bible, I renounced for ever the Popery of Romanism, and embraced the pure religion of Jesus Christ."—The point has since been set fully at rest. A Parliamentary Commission was recently issued for inquiry regarding Maynooth, from whose voluminous report the following queries and answers are extracted:—

"96. You have stated that it was the practice in the refectory, at the ordinary meals of the students, to preserve silence?—Yea.

"97. It was always the practice to read the Bible?—Yes.

"98. In what manner was it read, and by whom?—The students of the Logic class read, as well as I remember; I was in that class, and read in my turn.

"99. In what language is the Bible read?—In English. Immediately before dinner there is a visit to the chapel, when the students prostrate themselves before the consecrated Host, and remain so until the Dean repeats a portion of a hymn, when they proceed at once to the dining-room. The moment a certain number are assembled there, the Dean, if present, and if not, the senior monitor, says grace, a short Latin prayer, and then the person whose turn it is, reads a chapter of the Bible from the pulpit. While he is so engaged, from the slamming of doors and the noise and confusion of servants bringing in dishes and hurrying to and fro, not a word of the chapter from the Bible can be heard or attended to. In fact, it was quite understood that we need not put ourselves to the trouble of speaking loudly or distinctly when we read the Bible, because we could not be heard; we, therefore, husbanded our voices for the subsequent reading, when the Dean would come up and make a signal that we were to speak more loudly. A chapter of the Bible was read every day at dinner; but when there was still and perfect silence, 'Lingard's History of England' was read; and at the end, a chapter of the Martyrology was read in Latin. Then there was perfect silence, and every

word of that was distinctly heard ; but I can safely say, that, at the beginning of dinner, in consequence of the noise, the Bible could not be heard, and all that we troubled ourselves to do when reading was to cry out in a loud voice, 'The end of the chapter.'

"101. Do you think that the arrangement was made of reading the Bible first, in order to prevent its being heard?—From my knowledge and experience now (I answer according to my conscience) of the opposition of the Church of Rome to the Word of God in every respect, I believe that it was made with the view of its not being heard.

"102. Had you a Bible when you were a student at Maynooth?—Certainly not. I did not know any student who had ; nor did I hear a chapter of the Bible read in any way but this at the beginning of dinner.

"103. You had no opportunity of reading one yourself?—No, I never had one."*

We might, if our limits permitted, extend our references to the New World, and we should find that there—in South America, for example, in the United States, and in the Canadas—the hostility of the Roman priesthood to the Holy Scriptures is as inveterate and malignant as in the court of the Vatican, or the chambers of the Inquisition. But we have, perhaps, already exceeded, and must draw our present head to a close.

And now, looking back on the preceding details, they cannot but awaken in our minds a train of sad reflections. We think of a fallen church, a tremendous criminality, a depth of debasement and misery. But they bear, we think, with dismal emphasis on the subject we have had specially in view in recording them. It has been the great effort of the Papacy, from the Reformation to this day, to debar the millions of her disciples from the Word of the Living God. And she has, by a train of unhallowed policy, suppressed it over all her domains,—rendered them, as to all spiritual, holy, heavenly light, a region of darkness and of the shadow of death. A mightier engine in opposition to the cause of the Reformation she could not possibly have devised or employed. Aided in many instances by despotic civil powers,

* Report, quoted in the "Bulwark," iv., 283, 284.

she has excluded or cut down the messengers of peace, who came to proclaim its blessed doctrines to her people with the living voice ; and then, aided too in very many cases by the infatuated despots of the nations, she has suppressed that Divine Word in which they are embodied, rendering thereby, as far as human effort is concerned, her adversary powerless, and herself impregnable. Could but the living voice of the Gospel have penetrated—or, failing that, could but the voiceless written Word itself have penetrated, as in the days of Luther and Calvin—within her jealously-guarded and frowning territories, the power by which she holds nations in bondage, and makes merchandise of souls, had been long ere now annihilated and unknown, and the kingdoms she has made scenes of darkness and misery, had been rejoicing beneath the reign of “The Sun of Righteousness,” and the “Prince of Peace.” It is for the friends of the Reformation and of the Gospel to ponder the fact, and to implore counsel regarding it higher and wiser than that of man.

There is one other consideration to which we must advert before concluding this portion of our subject. We have already alluded, more than once, to the fact, that, in prosecuting her hostility to the doctrines of the Reformation, the Papacy sought, and in various countries of Europe obtained the aid of the civil power. And this fact—the persecution of Protestants—the forcible suppression of heresy and the extermination of heretics, by the aid and under the authority of the civil powers, might be stated and dwelt upon almost indefinitely as a *distinct* and dismal *cause* by which the progress of the Reformation has been *retarded* in one part of Europe, and altogether *extinguished* in another. Of the *fact* itself there can be no doubt. If men had been permitted to think for themselves as rational and responsible beings ; if an appeal had been allowed to reason and the Word of God, the doctrines and principles of the Reformation would have assuredly triumphed, and Popery as a system been extinguished from the earth. Roman Catholic writers themselves, as we have already stated, acknowledge without any hesitation, that if the Papacy had not called in and received the aid of the civil power, her tottering cause would have been altogether *overthrown*. She *did* appeal to

the despots of the age, and protectress as she had been of their thrones for many generations, she thought—and not without reason—that she had ground for her appeal. Posterity has known full well she did not appeal in vain. Prompted, in some cases, by miserably mistaken notions as to the bearing of the Reformation on the stability of their own governments—instigated in others by views and projects of insatiable ambition,—and influenced, in the case of a third class, by blind, unpitying, bloody bigotry, the despots of the ages posterior to the Reformation gave their power to Rome, and set themselves to suppress, by pains and penalties, tortures and death, those glorious and everlasting truths which she found it impossible to overthrow by argument and reason. The history of Europe, through two long sad centuries, tells the dismal result. Over some of her fairest regions the light was extinguished, the cause of truth and salvation arrested and overthrown; in others, after scenes at the remembrance of which the heart sickens and humanity bleeds, amid which some of the noblest bands of patriots the world ever saw were martyred and slain, and some of the fairest and most glorious Christian Churches by which the world was ever beautified or blessed were disrupted and destroyed,—the miserable people were left broken, peeled, benighted, the victims of almost unmitigated darkness, degradation, and woe. “No other power which the world ever beheld,” remarks an eloquent writer, “has for so long a period, and to such an extent, and with such circumstances of refined and rancorous cruelty, revelled in the blood and the sufferings of the human race. There is not a country under heaven in which the Church has been able to secure her ascendancy, whose soil has not been watered with the blood, and whose atmosphere has not resounded to the groans of her tortured victims. History presents us with the fearful spectacle of popes and cardinals, of bishops and priests concerting together plans of murder and extermination against entire nations of men; organizing crusades for the desolation of provinces; with unmingled ferocity superintending the execution of such bloody designs; and after the work of wholesale butchery was over, ordering *Te Deums* of thanksgiving to the Most High.”

All this is dismally true. Thus has the cause of the Reformation in Italy, and Portugal, and Spain, been overthrown and destroyed. And thus has it, in France, and other parts of Europe, where once it possessed a glorious habitation, been driven back, and left with but a glimmer of its once resplendent light—a wreck of its ancient grandeur—a shadow of its ancient, dear-bought fame

But, on this melancholy topic we do not purpose to dwell. In the first place, to enter into details of the persecutions of Rome in the various countries of Europe, even in the most condensed possible way, would extend our Essay beyond all reasonable bounds. And, secondly, it would tend to no such important practical ends as the proposers of our subject have obviously had in view, and as we have desired and endeavoured to keep before us in our discussions and illustrations of it. In considering the doings of the Papacy in opposition to the Reformation, we have sought to fix on those points which, while they have borne with retarding power on the Protestant cause, may, at least, indirectly admonish Protestants of their own past errors and omissions, and in what direction their strength and duty lie.

With these remarks we close our review of the Retarding Causes on the part of the Papacy ; and proceed to suggest a few considerations—more in the way of friendly suggestion than of historical illustration—on one or two of the “Retarding Causes” that have unhappily pertained to Protestants themselves.

CHAPTER II.
RETARDING CAUSES ON THE PART OF
PROTESTANTS.

CHAPTER II.

IF there is something painful and appalling in tracing the footsteps of an insidious and malignant *foe*, who has gone forth to ravage and destroy,—there is something perhaps still more inexpressibly sad, in marking the course by which a *friend* has been beguiled, to the damage and peril of a cause which both he and his friends mutually and sincerely love. Sure we are, if we have experienced a feeling of the former kind, in traversing the preceding pages of our Essay, we now feel very deeply in the latter way, when looking forward to the portion of travel which remains before us. We have traced some of the windings of a policy, as unhalloed, and, withal as malignant and insidious as any that ever made this world of ours the scene of its operations; and we shall rejoice if our attempted development of some portions of that policy shall be the means of rousing those against whom it is directed to a sense of their peril, and of counteracting in any degree its plans and workings in times that are to come. And, now that we proceed to indicate some of the devious paths by which the sincere friends of the most glorious of all causes, have been led aside, to *its* hinderance and hurt, as well as their own, we shall be glad if our investigations be in any measure helpful to fellow-friends of that cause, in leading them to retrace their steps, and take their standing beside it with a steadiness, and an energy, and a watchfulness, and a compassionateness, and a determination, which, by the blessing of HIM whose high and holy name is inscribed on its ancient and consecrated banner, shall lead them onward to victory and triumph.

SECTION I.
PROTESTANT DISSENSIONS.

SECTION I.

UNITY is the boast of the Papacy; one of the pretended marks of the true Church, of which she claims the sole and individual possession. And she smiles with derision at the disunion of Protestants—at the numberless jarring sects that compose the Protestant churches—as proof decisive that they are not churches of Christ at all. “No church,” says one of her priests, who, we presume, for the recklessness of his writings, and the envenomed character of his zeal against Protestants, has obtained the high favour of Cardinal Wiseman, “No church can be a Church of Christ, which has not this *oneness*, or unity. The Protestant Church is ‘a house divided against itself,’—not one, but manifold; therefore, it is not a Church of Christ. The Catholic Church is *ONE*, strictly, in every sense of the word, and, consequently, as it is the only Church on earth which has perfect unity, it is unquestionably the one true Church of Christ.”*

A most false and empty boast! If ever there was “a house divided against itself,” it is the Papal Church. It is even amazing that Popish writers should have the effrontery to introduce such an idea at the present day. Look over the history of the Papal Church. From age to age, it has been one vast scene of contention and strife. We behold sect after sect arising in her bosom,—council anathematizing council, and trampling in the dust each other’s decrees;—Franciscans warring with Dominicans—these with Jesuits—and the latter in their turn making war on Sectarian Jansenists. We, see in the 6th century, Silverius and Vigilius, each claiming to be Pope, and the Lateran Council unceremoniously condemning them both. We see, in the 9th century, Formosus and Sergius, likewise rival Popes, and a third—the successor of the former, disentombing his body, and commanding it to be thrown, mangled and mutilated, into the Tiber. Not only so, we find, at one period, three, if not four cardinals, laying claim at once to the Apostolic

* Controversial Catechism. Keenan. Dundee.

chair, and, by their respective appointments, making the Apostolic succession itself a laughing-stock and byword. Finally, and we should think it enough to settle for ever the question of Papal unity,—from the works of two of her most renowned authors, Bellarmine and Navarrus, Bishop Hall, in his “Dissuasive from Popery,” produced proofs of the existence of no fewer than three hundred controversies among Romanists themselves on important points of faith and practice. This is the “*one Holy, Apostolic, Catholic Church!*”

Nor let the adversaries of Protestantism imagine, from the differences of sentiment and communion which, here and there, they behold characterizing its friends, that it is *not one*. Amid all their diversities of feature the Protestant Churches are ONE. In regard to the only, the divine standard of truth and practice, the CHURCHES OF THE REFORMATION ARE ONE. Unitedly they respond to the glorious principle—“The Bible—the Bible alone, is the religion of Protestants.” Whether their doctrines be expressed in the words of the Confession of Augsburg, or of the the Thirty-Nine Articles, or of the Westminster Confession, or of the Congregational Declaration, they will all, with undivided cordiality, adopt the language of the first Protestants, and say, as they said, at Spires, in 1529, “This Word, contained in the Old and New Testament, is the sure rule of all faith, and of all life, and can never fail or deceive us. He who builds on this foundation shall stand against all the powers of Hell, while all the human vanities that are set up against it, shall fall before the face of God.”

While, however, Protestants can never permit their Church to be put on a level, even in point of unity, with the Roman Papacy,—which, indeed, they regard as no true church—but the “Apostacy”—the “Antichrist”—having all the marks of the “Apostacy” embodied in her character and history,—we must not deny, we frankly and mournfully acknowledge, that, among Protestants, there *have been* dissensions, controversies, separations, and that these have, in no small degree, retarded and done dishonour and injury to their divine and glorious cause. Hardly had the doctrines of the Reformation begun to be systematized, and its adherents settled down into regular ecclesiastical communities, when there

broke forth between Luther and Zwingli the unhappy controversy regarding the sacrament of the Holy Eucharist. Into its merits, of course, we do not enter. We have simply to do with, and acknowledge, and lament the fact, that, on this one point these two great and conscientious Reformers took up different ground, from which neither public discussion nor private communication could prevail on them to remove. It is due to the illustrious professor of Wittemberg, to remember and acknowledge, that, if he erred in this affecting crisis of his history, his error arose from the deep—even painfully sensitive regard he had, in all matters of doctrine, to the *ipsissima verba* of the Divine Record, and not to any bigoted attachment he entertained to a dogma of his own. In 1524, these noble-hearted advocates of the truth and cause of Christ parted from each other unreconciled, amid the anguish and the tears of friends, and the joy and triumph of foes. Thus began the dissensions in the Protestant camp, “giving their adversaries,” says the historian, “an argument against them, which to this day the Romanists do not fail to urge.”

It is not necessary for us to pursue the details of this melancholy theme. Errors were introduced; controversies were waged. The Protestant Church became broken up, divided into sections; and these, in many instances, regarding and treating each other not even with the jealousy of rivals, but with the bitterness of foes. Our own beloved country, while it has been the scene of the Reformation’s brightest triumphs, has witnessed some of its sorest tribulations.

The day was a dismal one when, in our sister kingdom, more than two thousand faithful and godly men were ejected from their ministerial charges, because they could not acquiesce in the imposition of what they believed to be an unscriptural and antichristian yoke. Nor less sad were those days—or long years rather—when, a century after the illustrious Knox had been instrumental, by the blessing of God, in planting the Reformation in his native land, many of the best and most conscientious of Scotland’s ministers, and many of her most pious and most patriotic people were exiled from the pale of their beloved Church, because they could not surrender their consciences to a kindred yoke. This very

year is the *Bicentenary* of that miserable era in the history of our country.* For their religion, and their religious and civil liberties, our forefathers entered into solemn covenant and league;† and, for so doing, they were charged by their adversaries with *rebellion*.

“Rebellion! foul, dishonouring word!
Whose baleful blight so oft has stained
The holiest cause that tongue or sword
Of mortal ever lost or gained!”

No, the Scottish Covenanters were not rebels. But for them, their perjured and profligate persecutor had never ascended the British throne. They were, in truth, with the Sydneys and Hampdens of the sister-land, the very best friends of their king and country in those sad and trying times. But they grieved and scorned to see their noble Presbyterian Church—the child of a most blessed and glorious Reformation—burdened and crushed in the very dust by an unhallowed, Erastian, Popish despotism. They were hunted and martyred‡ on the mountains, and in the glens and moors, and even in the metropolitan cities of their native land,—deeming not their lives dear to them, if they might but transmit their high and holy cause unimpaired to succeeding generations. “Against the revolt and outbreking of this generation,” they said, “we are called to stand in the gap, and leave our bodies there, that the generation to come, who shall hear that the spouse of Christ once dwelt in Scotland, with all her beautiful ornaments, may, at least, behold her memorial in the torn veil, and trace her footsteps in the land by a track of blood.” They kept the standard of freedom waving on their native mountains till it was descried, and brought help from afar. Their sighs fanned, and their blood watered the plant of renown, and succeeding ages have eaten of its pleasant fruit:—

“Yes; though the sceptic's tongue deride
Those martyrs who for conscience died,—
Though modest history blight their fame,
And sneering courtiers hoot the name
Of men who dared alone be free,
Amidst a nation's slavery.

* Charles II., 1660.

† Vide Appendix I.

‡ Appendix II.

Yet long for them the poet's lyre
 Shall wake its notes of heavenly fire ;
 Their names shall nerve the patriot's hand,
 Upraised to save a sinking land ;
 And piety shall learn to burn
 With holier transports o'er their urn."

Those melancholy times went past. In mercy to long-oppressed and distracted Churches and nations, Providence commanded the sword of the persecutor to be sheathed, and gave them peace. Meanwhile, alas! dissensions were not allayed ; the painful divisions were not healed. In Britain they continue still. And it is distressing to know that, amid many circumstances of a cheering nature characterising Continental Protestantism, these dissensions are even now retarding its progress, and grieving the hearts of its best and most devoted friends. "I regret also," writes one of them, "to state that the dissensions which, soon after the rise of the Reformation, unhappily began to divide many able and zealous ministers and members of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, have of late years been revived, partly by the very endeavours to unite them more closely together. The Roman Catholics are not remiss in making the most of these lamentable divisions, boasting of the vast superiority of their church, composed as it is of one compact body, directed by one visible and infallible head ; being entirely unmindful of that most important point, that there may be an outward uniformity, yet entirely void of that 'Unity of the spirit in the bond of peace,' which the apostle so admirably points out, Eph. iv. 1—6."*

Deeply are these dissensions, by which our common Protestantism has been so long afflicted, to be deplored. Even apart from their unhappy internal divisions, the Protestant Churches have been too apt to consider themselves, and their interests and duties, as of a merely local character, and to restrict their regards, therefore, very much, if not altogether to their own soil. While, on the contrary, the Papacy, with its head at Rome, has its eagle eye over the entire world, and its policy and plans taking effect at the same moment in the most distant countries of the earth. But the Churches

* Rev. Dr. Steinkopff, in "Evangelical Christendom."

of the Reformation, besides being in a great measure insulated from each other, have been in very many cases distracted and divided by controversies, and have in consequence often presented the aspect rather of hostile squadrons, arrayed under separate banners, and contending with each other, than of one great, united, energetic army doing battle with the adversaries of the truth and the cause of the Living God.

Ground, we say, there is in all this for deep lamentation, and deep humiliation too. It may be—and beyond question it is so—that the controversies which have arisen from time to time in the Protestant churches, have involved doctrines of deep importance, and that the melancholy separations which have taken place in connection with them have been, by the sincere and judicious friends of truth, deemed indispensably necessary, and have been gone into with grave and solemn awe, and with “great searchings,” and much sadness of heart. Meanwhile, there has been blame-worthiness on one part,—most probably on both. And, while the regards of the friends of the Reformation have been thus withdrawn from their great cause, and their arms paralyzed as to its extension, or even its defence, its ever-vigilant and insidious adversary has been rejoicing in their dissensions, and pursuing with silent but certain success her own seductive and self-aggrandizing schemes.

“Divide and conquer,” is the watchword of Rome. Unhappily, she has not to accomplish the former; and it is for Protestant wisdom, and energy, and zeal, with united prayer to the God of the Gospel, to see to it that she be not successful in accomplishing the latter. It was but the other day, when the Cardinal from the Papacy, whom, in marvellous dereliction of duty, England permitted to set foot upon her soil, made his insolent boast at Rome, that his hopes of victory lay in “the divisions of British Protestants.” One would think that, apart from other solemn and weighty considerations which ought to press this matter home on serious minds, the idea of such a boast should awaken British Protestants, and, indeed, Protestants throughout the world, to such earnest and conciliatory efforts for healing their mutual divisions, as, by the blessing of God, might, in the issue,

realize the divinely-promised and longed-for consummation. Not, surely, that union should be sought at the expense of truth. Very admirable, on this point, are the monitory words of one who was an able and devoted advocate of both, when reviewing some of the earlier Protestant enterprises for the spread of the Gospel:—"While," he says, "the new-born zeal for the propagation of the Gospel had the happy effect of promoting union among believers who had hitherto been separated by their differences in regard to Church order, it led many to undervalue the importance of those differences respecting the doctrine of Christ, which had hitherto escaped their attention. The condemnation of bigotry, and the praise of liberality, which echoed from every platform, powerfully operated both on the speakers and on the hearers, and, while union was promoted, it was not unfrequently at the expense of zeal for the truth."*

"Buy the truth, and sell it not," should be our watchword even in regard to Christian Union; but, with right efforts toward it, the great blessing will assuredly be ere long enjoyed. In the meantime, and while measures for that great consummation are going forward, Protestants in all lands throughout the world should come, and that speedily, into intimate connection and co-operation with each other in regard to their common, momentous cause; and, calmly and judiciously devising scriptural means for its advancement, and carrying them forward into prompt, peaceful, prayerful, and energetic execution, they will be instrumental, by the Divine blessing, in sending a tide of knowledge, and truth, and purity over the earth, such as has not enriched and blessed it since the days of the Reformation.

* "The Doctrine of the Atonement," by J. A. Haldane, Esq. Preface, pp. 9, 10.

SECTION II.
PROTESTANT DECLENSIONS.

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SECTION II.

WE were led to remark, under a former head, that *concession*, or, at least, apparent concession on the part of the Papacy, was a stroke of policy peculiarly advantageous to the assailed and imperilled interests of the Roman Church. And we are strongly inclined to think, that if, on the maxim of "*fas est ab hoste doceri*," Protestants, in the perilous days when controversies began to agitate and embroil their respective churches, had acted more toward each other in the spirit of kind, brotherly, judicious concession, many of those mournful dissensions, to which we have just been adverting, and by which some of them were so sadly broken up, might have been prevented.

On our former head, too, we were led to mark the effect which the Papal missions in Asia exerted on the sinking cause of the Church in Europe. And, entering on our present painful topic, we cannot help expressing our strong conviction, that, if the Protestant Churches, acting on the same principle, but of course in a far higher sense, and with a far other and holier view, had cherished with more solemn earnestness, from the earlier days of their history, a noble spirit of missionary enterprise, those declensions which, so soon and sadly, and for a long season, came over them, and paralyzed their spiritual energies, and tarnished their spiritual glory, might never have formed the melancholy blot in their past history which they now do.

The Divine Author of Christianity ordained his disciples and his Church to spread his gospel among all nations, for the enlightenment, purification, and salvation of mankind. A true, living, healthful Church will ever be, according to its means and opportunities, a Missionary Church. If the word of the living God has operated with quickening and purifying power on the hearts of its people, it will feel a noble and sacred constraint to communicate the heavenly message to brethren, friends, neighbouring communities, and

to diffuse it, if possible, to the utmost parts of the earth. And we believe that the depth of feeling which any true Church has, in regard to this divinely-commanded work, and the earnestness with which it devotes itself to its accomplishment, will be found no uncertain criterion of the measure of life, health, and spiritual prosperity by which that Church is characterized.

Such, from their early days, were the Churches of the Reformation. It is not easy for us, sitting "every man under his vine and under his fig-tree," to realize the deep and sore tribulations, through which some of them for long periods were doomed to pass. Encompassed with adversaries, hearing from day to day of brethren—fellow-confessors of the truth—having trial of "cruel mockings, and scourging, and bonds, and imprisonments," massacred and martyred, it is even a marvel of Divine Providence, that Churches could be constituted and organized at all; and, still more, that these peril-bound witnesses for the truth should have been able to look out, with a spirit of sympathising benevolence, from their own saddened homes, on fellow-sufferers in other lands, nay, to look abroad with pity all the more tender, that they were suffering themselves, on the spiritual miseries of a perishing world.

It is with admiration and delight that we contemplate the outflowings of the Protestant spirit, in such ways as these, in the days of its early tribulation. It would seem as if the light and the power of the rescued and unfettered Word of God had so penetrated and imbued their whole souls, as to raise them to triumphant joy in sending the priceless gift abroad among their fellow-men. One or two examples we feel constrained barely to mention. To the infant Church of Geneva, and its noble, and large-hearted Reformer, CALVIN, belongs the immortal honour of taking the lead in this truly Protestant work. So early as the year 1556, they projected a Christian mission among the South-American Indians, to whose benighted region, we have seen, the Papacy had despatched its missionaries, and, forthwith, fourteen Protestant missionaries were on their way with the tidings of salvation to those distant shores.

Three years later than this period, in 1559, Gustavus Vasa,

the Prince and Reformer of his country, contemplating a field of Christian beneficence nearer home, commissioned a Protestant missionary to Lapland, to carry to its people the printed volume and the living message of heavenly truth.

We are not sure, however, but in point of time we should have assigned the first place to a noble exhibition of the evangelizing spirit, on the part of the Vaudois Churches, in the valleys of Piedmont and Provence. The tidings of the Reformation by Luther and Zwingli, in Germany and Switzerland, had reached their ears in their sequestered vales, and in 1530, they deputed two of their pastors, Morel and Latomus, to confer on the matter with the pastors of Berne, Basil, and Strasburgh. Ecolampadius and Bucer met with the pastors of the Alp; Farel and Saunier from France and Germany, being associated with them. A most deeply interesting, and noble conference! Its result was a union, in 1532, between the Christians of the valleys and the Churches of Switzerland, and the appointment of P. R. Oliveran to translate the whole Scriptures into French, the cost of the undertaking to be defrayed by the Vaudois Churches.* "I know not," says the venerable biographer of Knox, referring to the transaction to which we have just alluded, "a spot in the field of modern history, on which the mind rests with a more pleasing emotion, than that which describes the deputation sent by the Waldenses to congratulate and establish concord with the first Reformers of Germany and Switzerland; the candour with which that interesting and simple body of Christian confessors stated the faith and religious practice which they had so long retained and held fast in the jaws of persecution; and the ingenuous and meek spirit with which they received the advice and admonitions of their more enlightened brethren."†

It is not our object to pursue the details of Protestant effort for spreading the Gospel in succeeding times. Our limits would not admit of it, nor is it necessary for the object we have in view. We have introduced the fact as a remarkable proof of life and vigour pervading the Protestant Churches in their early days. Their history records that they

* The work was printed at Neuchâtel, in 1535.

† McCrie, on "The Unity of the Church."

had, at least, a "first love," and, under its inspiring influence, held forth a noble example of fidelity to the truth at home, and of benevolent zeal for its spread abroad.

But the "first love" was not cherished,—the example of early, faithful, noble-hearted witnesses and churches, was permitted, silently, and amid many perplexing, internal convulsions, to fade from remembrance; and the end of the 17th, and the greater part of the 18th century, witnessed the Protestant Churches, almost without exception, covered with a cloud, infected with error, unnerved in point of spiritual energy, forgetting and sacrificing their own distinctive principles, and leaving unregarded and undone their own commissioned, evangelizing work.

Our limits could not permit our investigating the causes of this melancholy change. They were, of course, different in various parts of the Protestant world. The Protestant Churches were affected and injured, in some instances by the despotic character of the governments under which they existed. Persecution, in others, exhausted the churches, slaughtered or drove into exile their best-principled members, leaving the uncared-for remainder a prey to repudiated idolatries, or incipient errors of modern date. The French Protestant Church, for example, consisted, at one period, of 2150 congregations. It was not uncommon for five or six thousand persons to attend the ordinary preaching of the gospel under one minister; and the Protestants were regarded as constituting a sixth part of the entire population of France. Persecutions, down to the Bartholomew massacre,* weakened intensely that noble Church; and the revo-

* This massacre took place in the reign of Charles IX., in the year 1572. The leading Protestants of France were invited to Court, under a solemn promise of safety, on the occasion of the nuptials of the King of Navarre with the sister of the King of France. On the eve of St. Bartholomew's Day tolled the great bell of Paris, and the French capital became a scene of carnage. The Queen Dowager of Navarre, Admiral Coligni, and above ten thousand lords, nobles, and people of all ranks, were butchered in Paris alone. A hundred thousand more were massacred in the various cities and towns of France. The tidings of the transaction filled Rome with joy. "When the letters of the Papal Legate were read in the Assembly of the Cardinals, declaring that all was done by the express command of the king, it was decreed that the Church of St. Mark should forthwith be the scene of solemn thanksgiving to God for so great a blessing to the Christian world—that the city of Rome should be illuminated, and a jubilee proclaimed throughout Christendom."

cation of the Edict of Nantes all but completed its ruin.* The large body of its thoroughly instructed and devoted people were driven into other lands, and towards the end of the 18th century, the nominal Protestants of France were either sunk in ignorance, or become the disciples of infidelity.

The Protestant Church of Holland, though not from the same causes, experienced a similar decline. Once second to none of the Reformed Churches—the cherished correspondent of the Church of Scotland in her most flourishing periods—descended to a level with the lowest, her fifteen hundred pulpits came, in process of time, to dispense to her people, either the inanities of Formalism, or the poisoned cup of undiluted error.

In Switzerland, the cradle of the Reformation, the Protestant Confessions were set aside, and the principles of Calvin, Farel, and Zwingle gave place to a rampant, unblushing, and persecuting atheism.

On the long season of darkness and declension, that marked the annals of the Protestant Churches in Britain, we have neither limits nor inclination to dwell. There is no genuine friend of either, who does not think with deep regret of the thick and dark cloud that came over them,—at the very time, too, when Providence had wrought for them both a great deliverance, and opened up for them a path of noble, energetic, successful operation on behalf of invaded Protestantism at home, and for the diffusion of its truths and principles in distant lands.

During the long season of Protestant declension and apathy, the Papacy saw, and improved her opportunity. No *spiritual* decline can come over the Papal Church, for in her there is no principle of spiritual, sacred vitality. Her priests and her people may become indifferent to her dogmas, and their rites; but her heads, and presiding court at Rome, and her Jesuit

* The Edict of Nantes was a generous deed, on the part of Henry IV., in the year 1598, granting liberty of conscience to all French Protestants, and establishing the Reformation, under certain restrictions, throughout the French dominions. Ninety years it continued in force, rejoiced in by the Protestants—detested by their adversaries. Louis XIV. revoked it in the year 1685. Its revocation was followed by scenes of horror throughout France, on which the mind cannot dwell. A hundred and fifty thousand Protestants perished, by every species of inhuman cruelty; and more than half a million sought refuge from persecution in Protestant states.

emissaries in all lands, are ever alive, vigorous, indefatigable in regard to her extension. While Protestants were lulled in criminal slumber, she was awake, and sowing with careful zeal her empoisoned seed : its plenteous harvest amply repaid her toil ; and, at the opening of the present century, she could, in company with her confederate infidelity, look abroad in triumph over Europe, as almost entirely her own.

SECTION III.
PROTESTANT MISCONCEPTIONS AND DERE-
LITIONS.

SECTION III.

WE now enter upon the third and final head to which the causes that have retarded the progress of the Reformation, in so far as they are found among Protestants themselves, may, we think, be severally referred.

We have endeavoured, it will be observed, in both parts of our subject, to follow the order of history; and, having seen how, in the dissensions of its early promoters, and in the apathetic declensions of its later advocates, the Reformation has been sorely debilitated, thwarted, retarded, it now remains, in a few concluding paragraphs, to advert to the MISCONCEPTIONS which, at the present time, obtain in the Protestant world, as regards the actual character and tendencies of the Papal system, and the consequent grave DERELICTIONS of duty, with which the friends of the Reformation are justly chargeable.

The *first* misconception regarding the nature of Popery which has been extensively—at one time universally—entertained is, that it has undergone a material CHANGE; that the character and tone of the Papacy have been softened down and refined by the lapse of ages, and that its intolerant and self-aggrandizing spirit exists no more.

And we believe that, to this grievously fallacious notion, regarding the nature and state of the Papacy, more than to any positive disposition to relinquish Protestantism in her favour, are owing the concessions which, in the high places of Protestant governments, and especially in our own, have been made to it in recent times.

The notion is, indeed, most grievously erroneous. It is true—though the fact has not been duly recognized nor pondered by Protestants—that the Papal is, in one point of view, the most accommodating of systems. This fact has been its sustaining and victorious principle. In Spain, Popery is unmitigated bigotry and cruelty. In Italy it assumes the shape, or rather forms the veil, of licentiousness. In Ger-

many, it is gross infidelity. In France, its peculiar feature is empty pageantry, being at once a state-engine and a national amusement. And in our own country, as it dare wear here no other guise, it is tutored down to a system of gravity and external propriety.

But, amid all these varieties of appearance, the nature of the Papacy is unchanged, and unchangeable. In the *first* place, such a change as is contended for would strip the Papacy of its own infallibility. *Moreover*, the decrees of the Council of Trent constitute the whole body, at once of its dogmas and its rules, by which the heads and subordinates of the system are bound down till its final day. And, *in short*, the assumption that Romanism is changed in one *iota* of her ancient integral character, is contradicted by the whole mass of historical facts which we have been necessitated to introduce into the preceding pages—is contradicted, in truth, by her entire history down to the present day.

To this thorough and fatal misconception of the character and condition of the Papal system, we must add another closely allied with it, namely, that this system—now so altered, reformed, and purified—is only another *phase* of our common faith, and is, therefore, entitled to the same toleration and protection as any other form of the Christian religion.

This “cant of liberalism,” as Foster terms it, is like its ally, a flagrant mistake. The Papal system, considered in all its bearings, is not a mere *form* of Christianity. In proper truth, it is not a religion to all. It is an Ecclesiastico-Political System, claiming authority, as well over nations as individuals, which, therefore, while its disciples must be held entitled to all *civil* privileges in the communities where they live, it is at the peril of Civil Governments, and very specially of Protestant Governments, to countenance and support. The author of “The Wealth of Nations” seems clearly to have perceived what the genius of the Papacy necessarily is, when he characterised its constitution as “the most formidable combination that ever was formed against the authority and security of Civil Government, as well as against the liberty, reason, and happiness of mankind, which can flourish only where Civil Government is able to protect them.”

There can be no doubt that these gross misconceptions of the Papal system were primarily engendered during the period of Protestant declension and slumber, while the Papacy was accomplishing, in secrecy and silence, her own projects of extension and aggrandisement. There was no outward aggression. Peace and concord seemed to prevail, while the very heart of Protestantism was being reached by the invisible but poisoned arrows of her insidious adversary.

Nor, we now add, can there be any doubt, that these unhappy misconceptions regarding the Papal system, have been the cause of the manifold derelictions of duty, in regard to the cause of the Reformation, whereby Protestants generally, and especially Protestant Governments—but most of all our own—have been characterized.

It seemed meet to Divine Providence to arouse a slumbering world, in the end of last century, by tremendous judgments on nations where the Divine name, and word, and institutions had been signally profaned. By these solemn and awful dispensations was God pleased likewise to rouse his Church from her protracted lethargy. She was made to feel throughout all her branches, that she had been criminally estranged from her great work. And she put herself in the spirit of humiliation, and wonder, and gratitude, in the attitude of “doing her first works.”

Missions embracing the world, and institutions for spreading the Divine Word among all nations, were the fruits of her revival; and, now, in the course of half a century from that amazing period of judgment and mercy, almost all the kindreds of the earth may read Heaven’s message of loving-kindness in their own tongues, and listen to the tidings of salvation from seven thousand Protestant missionaries.

Meanwhile, the Papacy was also roused anew. For a century she had wrought in secret, and with sure, though unseen and unimagined success. Convulsions, like those of the days of the Reformation, though of far other character, seemed about to shake her throne to its foundation. Her policy was tasked. Her energies were strained as in those ancient days. She strove to counteract reviving Protestantism, as she had done incipient Protestantism three centuries before. She strove for the retention of her threatened terri-

tories; and she strove not in vain. But she enlarged her views of conquest. She made high resolves to add the British Isles to her dominions, to make those lands her own where she had been most signally foiled, and whence had gone forth those especial combatants who had inflicted deadliest damage on her cause.

But for those unhappy and most grievous misconceptions to which we have been adverting, she would have striven in vain. It is *these* that have weakened and damaged the Protestant cause; *these* that have exposed its very citadel to its fiercest and most wrathful assaults. Fearing no evil—believing there was no danger—imagining the lion was transformed into a lamb—forgetting the whole bearing of history, down to the present day—conceiving, in the simplicity of their hearts, that they only did equal justice, nay, that they were preventing evil, disarming their adversary—if such an one there was—and securing for the future peace and harmony, the Protestant statesmen of England have made concession after concession to this ancient, inveterate, insidious foe—given her favour upon favour—endowed, supported, cherished the very nurseries of her armies, until now, the insolent representative of her head deems it not unsafe to boast, that ten years of the nineteenth have given Rome more conquests in England than the three centuries from the Reformation, and that a few years more of such triumphs will make England and the world Rome's own.

Our task is done. We have stated the causes which we believe to have retarded the progress of the Reformation, both on the part of its enemies and its friends.

And now, the duty and the interest of Protestants it cannot be difficult to perceive and realize.

Her own missions, her own teaching, and the suppression of God's blessed Word, are the weapons which alone, save in one or two ill-fated lands, Popery dare now employ. Let the leal friends of Protestantism confront her nobly, steadfastly, and with prayerful perseverance.

Missions, especially, as they can obtain access to the deluded victims of the Papacy, and that in their own vernacular tongue, let them affectionately and munificently carry forward.

Knowledge, and especially the knowledge of the life-giving, life-conserving Word of God, let them labour to impart.

Support of all Papal institutions, let them demand of Protestant rulers, by every consideration of duty to their country, responsibility to God, and regard for the best interests of nations, henceforth to disallow.

Toleration for Protestants and Protestant worship in foreign states, equally free with that which is granted to Roman Catholics in Britain, let our Queen and our Government be petitioned and urged earnestly and with fearless determination, to demand.

Finally, institutions for training youth, especially those looking forward to the holy ministry, in a thorough acquaintance with the great controversy connected with the Reformation, kindred to that already existing in the metropolis of Scotland, on behalf of which a noble erection is soon to be inaugurated, the Protestants of Britain, those especially to whom God has given wealth, are solemnly called upon munificently and prayerfully to patronize.

And thus, not only doing no injustice to the adherents of Rome,—denying them no civil privilege or right, but, on the contrary, cherishing and manifesting toward them kindness and benevolence, while, at the same time, striving scripturally, faithfully, perseveringly, for the universal establishment of their glorious cause—let the true-hearted friends of Protestantism be encouraged and cheered by the assurance that the truth of God will finally prevail, and that the emancipated nations, casting off every other yoke, will rejoice in yielding their homage to HIM who is “THE PRINCE OF PEACE”—“KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS.”

APPENDIX.

I.

"They Covenanted," &c., p. 79.

THE subscribing of the NATIONAL COVENANT is well described in the following extract from Dr. Aiton's excellent volume on "The Life and Times of Alexander Henderson," &c.:—

"Long before the appointed hour the venerable church of the Grey-friars and the large open space around it were filled with Presbyterians from every quarter of Scotland. At two o'clock, Rothes, Loudon, Henderson, Dickson, and Johnston, arrived with a copy of the covenant ready for signature. Henderson constituted the meeting by prayer, 'verrie powerfullie and pertinentlie,' to the purpose in hand. Loudon then, in an impressive speech, stated the occasion of their meeting. After mentioning that the courtiers had done everything in their power to effect a division among the Presbyterians, and, when thus weakened, to introduce innovation, and that they should therefore use every lawful mean for keeping themselves together in a common cause, he said, that in a former period, when papal darkness was enlightened only from the flaming faggot of the martyr's stake, the first Reformers swore, in covenant, to maintain the most blessed Word of God, even unto the death. In a later period, when apprehensions were entertained of the restoration of Popery, King James, the nobles, and people throughout every parish, subscribed another covenant, as a test of their religious principles. The covenant now about to be read had a similar object in view. In conclusion, he solemnly took the Searcher of hearts to witness that they intended neither dishonour to God nor disloyalty to the king. The covenant was next read by Johnston, 'out of a fair parchment, about an elne squair.' When the reading was finished there was a pause and silence still as death. Rothes broke it, by requesting that if any of them had objections to offer he would now be heard. 'Feu comes,' says Dickson, and

these few proposed but few doubts, which were soon resolved. These preliminaries occupied till four o'clock, when the venerable Earl of Sutherland stepped forward and put the first name to the memorable document. After it had gone the round of the whole church it was taken out to be signed by the crowd in the church-yard. Here it was spread before them upon a flat grave-stone, to be read and subscribed by as many as could get near it. The immense sheet, in a short time, became so crowded with names that there was not room for a single additional signature. Even the margin was scrawled over, and, as the document filled up, the subscribers seem to have been limited to the initial letters of their names. At the conclusion every one seemed to feel that a great measure of the Divine Presence had accompanied the solemnities of the day. With their hearts much comforted and strengthened, the numerous crowd retired about nine o'clock at night. Well might Henderson say, 'that this was the day of the Lord's power, wherein we saw his people offer themselves willingly, like the dew-drops of the morning; the day of the Redeemer's strength, on which the princes of the people assembled to swear allegiance to the King of kings.' "

II.

"Hunted and martyred," &c., p. 79.

The following extracts will cast some light on this statement. The first is the proclamation issued by the civil authorities against Renwick, the last of the eighteen thousand Scottish professors of the truth, martyred under the reigns of Charles II. and his brother James II. :—

"Forasmuch as Mr. James Renwick, a seditious vagabond and pretended preacher, being lawfully summoned to have compeared to have answered and underlien the law, for his being in the late rebellion at Bothwell Bridge in 1679; keeping, and preaching at, field-conventicles in arms, particularly at Blackloch, Welspole, Craig, Greenock, and several other places; for maintaining and asserting several treasonable and rebellious principles against us and our authority and government; whereby some of our unwary subjects have been infected with and debauched into the same wicked, unnatural, and seditious principles with himself; we command and charge all and sundry our lieges and subjects that they, nor none of them, presume, nor take upon hand, to reset, supply, or intercommune with the said Mr. James Renwick, rebel foresaid; nor furnish him with meat, drink, house, harbour, victual, or no other thing useful or comfortable to him; or to have any intelligence

with him by word, writ, or message, or any other way whatsoever, under the pain of being esteemed art and part with him in the crimes aforesaid, and pursued therefor with all rigour, to the terror of others. And we hereby require all our sheriffs, &c., to apprehend and commit to prison the person of the said Mr. James Renwick wherever they can find or apprehend him."

The following extract from one of his letters will show the effect which this miserable mandate had on Renwick's noble Christian mind:—

"The world thinks my case miserable; for myself, I think it is so happy that I know not a man this day on the face of the earth with whom I would exchange my lot. O, it is more sweet and pleasant to be swimming in the swellings of Jordan, for Christ and with Christ, than to be wallowing in the pleasures of sin. When the world frowns most I know it is the time when the Lord smiles most upon his own. O, therefore, let them not fear a suffering lot. Enemies may feel satisfied that we are to wander through dark stormy nights in mosses and mountains; but if they knew how we are feasted when others are sleeping they would gnash their teeth for anger; nay, while they are pining away in envy and fear I am feeling in peace and joy. Let enemies, therefore, never think that they can make God's people miserable while He lives and reigns. Fools, what can you do? The greatest wrong you can do is to be instrumental in bringing a chariot to carry us to that higher house; and should we not think this the greater favour? The Lord is still increasing his people in number and spiritual strength, and many a sacrifice is he taking off their hands; for there are not many days wherein his truths are not sealed with blood, and that in all places; so that I think within a little there shall not be a moss or mountain in the west of Scotland which shall not be flowered with martyrs."

At six-and-twenty years of age this noble Christian youth fell a victim to popish and prelatie cruelty, the last who publicly sealed with his blood that testimony for "the Covenanted Reformation in Scotland," for adhering to which so many of his brethren had suffered death during the preceding seven-and-twenty dismal years. "Expelled," says Aikman, justly and indignantly, "from their homes, they were driven to hide in dens and in caves of the earth, to wander naked and starving in the sterile or remote parts of the country; skulking in woods, or among mosses, or on the hills, without any certain dwelling-place, exposed to every extremity of climate; in the depth of winter, as well as in the heat of summer, they made the heather their bed and the rock their pillow, and their only covering the canopy of heaven; debarred from the charities of life, their presence was deemed pestilential, and their dearest relatives dared not exchange an expression of kindness with them but at the expense of their lives; they were hunted by the soldiers like partridges on the mountains, and shot without inquiry and without account."

III.

"*An insidious and malignant foe,*" &c., p. 74.

"When will a Protestant legislature open its eyes to the serpent which it is continuing to cherish, which in foreign countries *scotched*, not *killed*, is discovering its unconquerable vitality in this, and will soon discover its venom, in the apostacy of those whom its artifices have beguiled, its wealth bribed, or its power overawed? Nothing but power reveals what the Papacy really is. It can assume—it is its interest and practice to assume—every disguise, the appearance even of the character most opposite to itself, while *impotent*. But let the season of prosperity breathe upon it, and the dead lion will become a living and furious one. A great portion of its destructive strength lies, and has always lain, in what prophecy has emphatically denominated the 'Deceivableness of Unrighteousness.' The great sorceress sits upon her seven hills, dealing out her drugs and potions to the infatuated nations and sovereigns of the earth. Assisted by the wisdom of her superior teacher, she mixes the ingredients of her cup in exact accommodation to the inclinations and tastes of those whom she would seduce, intimidate, or ruin; and the records of her history mournfully proclaim her extensive—her almost universal—success. We mistake if we imagine that all this has past by. That very opinion revives its existence. There is reason to question whether the poison has not already entered the veins of some who fancy themselves most free. Nor is there anything highly absurd in the apprehension that the papal religion may continue its progress until it prevail again extensively in this country. In its peculiarity it is eminently a *religion of nature*, armed with all the fierce energies, as well as those irresistible delusions, by which the superstitions of heathenism, both ancient and modern, have laid prostrate the souls of their victims, and recommended more artfully and effectually than in any other invented faith, by supplying the grand *desideratum* of vitiated humanity—a *religious proxy*."—Mendham's "Lit. Pol. of the Church of Rome." 2nd. ed., 308.

